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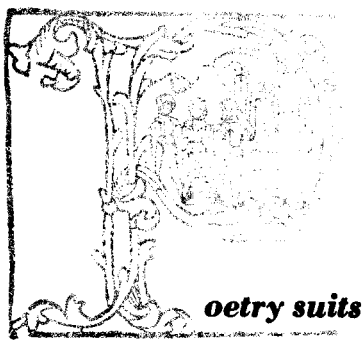

oetry suits Christmas as much as it does any other occasion. In accounts of the first Christmas, light clashes with darkness and overcomes it. Spring recreates winter even in the midst of a winter's night, releasing the earth from Adam's curse. A virginal youth gives birth. God enters human life as a child, in order to die. And animals join a motley few in honoring the babe happily born under deadly edicts, human and divine. In our time we relive that Christmas, acting in holy and unholy ritual on impulses sent to our ancestors and us from pagan fertility rites—Germanic Ring dances, Greek festivals acclaiming Comus. Or we pretend to act while, as usual, registers compute the season and we spend ourselves to purchase metallic cheer.

CHRISTMAS IN POETRY

Paradox pleasant and unpleasant, wonders of the first Christmas or rues of our season—both offer natural fields for poets whom Christmas has inspired to poetry.

JOHN DRUSKA

Medieval Christ- *(Continued on page 260)*

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NEWS & VIEWS

Papal Sweepstakes

Who's going to be the next Pope? The most promising candidates, according to Vaticanologist Francis X. Murphy, are two "middle-aged" Italian members of the Curia: Cardinal Sebastino Baggio, 61, secretary of the Congregation of Bishops, and Cardinal Sergio Pignedoli, 64, head of the Secretariat for Non-Christians.

Writing in the *Washington Post,* Redemptorist Father Murphy says "both are men with wide experience in the Vatican diplomatic service who are known to take a middle-of-the-road stance in Church policies and would presumably follow in the footsteps of Pope Paul."

The last prospect is not dismaying to Murphy, who feels that Pope Paul has coped adequately with the "startling intricacies" of the post-conciliar Church. "Paul's pontificate will go down in history as momentous," Murphy comments.

Murphy expects the next conclave to go Italian—as all conclaves have gone since the misadventure with Adrian VI, a Dutchman (1522-23).

Should the unexpected happen, Murphy does not envision the conclave settling the papacy on an Asian or an African. "The idea that such total strangers to Vatican mores could take over the papacy tends to boggle the minds of Catholics close to the Roman scene," he says.

He sees a non-Italian choice falling rather on someone like Vienna's Cardinal Franz Koenig, 69, or on Cardinal Jan Willebrands, 65, the Dutch head of the Secretariat for Christian Unity.

(Belgium's Cardinal Suenens is discounted as being out of favor, and The Netherlands' Cardinal Alfrink as being "too controversial for serious consideration.")

For those who like to bet dark horses, Murphy touts Cardinal Ugo Poletti, 60, the Pope's vicar for the Diocese of Rome. Assessment as follows: "Created a cardinal last year, he has shown great courage in dealing with the poor and with dissident priests and religious. His primary handicap as pope would be a lack of knowledge of the outside world. But he would be in a position to carry through the radical curial reforms in Vatican structure initiated by Pope Paul."

When is the next conclave likely to be held? Murphy does not predict a time. Pope Paul is showing signs of age and occasionally limps from arthritis, but the "vigorous manner" in which he presided over the recent Synod has scotched rumors, says Murphy, that Paul VI is suffering a fatal illness or headed into retirement.

Testing Fairness

Several months ago, during the Farah Manufacturing Co. labor strike, columnist William F. Buckley, Jr., attacked Archbishop Leo C. Byrne, recently deceased, of Minneapolis-St. Paul for supporting a union boycott of Farah clothing products.

Archbishop Byrne asked the Washington Star Syndicate, circulators of Buckley's column, to send its subscribers his response to Buckley's attack. The syndicate agreed, and out went the response with a covering note from Byrne asking newspapers "in the name of fairness and equal treatment according to the best canons of journalism, [to] publish the response, preferably in a similar location and with similar treatment."

For the standards committee of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, the Byrne request became a test of journalistic principles and editors' willingness to grant space to people who are attacked, although there is no enforceable legal obligation requiring them to do so.

The results are now in, and they receive featured treatment in the current *Columbia Journalism Review.*

The figures show that 317 dailies subscribe to Buckley's column. Some 301 answered the Conference's query—95 percent of the total. Of these 301, seven said they did not receive the Byrne reply; 99 said they did not use the Buckley column, and therefore could not be expected to run the reply.

Of the 195 papers that printed Buckley's column, 140 carried Byrne's reply—72 percent of the papers. Fifty-five, or 28 percent, did not run Byrne.

Gilbert Cranberg of the Des Moines *Register and Tribune* sums up:

"That more than seven out of ten papers carried the reply surprised the syndicate, which expected few editors to comply with the bishop's request.

"The showing demonstrates that most editors will provide space for reply voluntarily, without the prod of 'reply' legislation. But it's cause for concern that nearly 30 per cent of the editors did not print even excerpts from Archbishop Byrne's response to Buckley's attack."

Publishing Gains

Some different news, for a change, from the field of religious publishing.

Christianity & Crisis will continue. It has received $23,000 from 350 persons in response to its life-or-death appeal for $35,000. Wayne H. Cowan, editor, is confident the remaining $12,000 can be raised before the end of the year.

Meanwhile, three religious publications have braved the times and made their debut: *Christianity Applied,* a California magazine dedicated to scholarship, creativity and communication; *Catholic Near East Magazine,* a publication aimed at drawing readers closer to the work of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association; *Horizons,* a hefty biannual published at Villanova University as the journal of the College Theology Society; and *One World,* a monthly of the World Council of Churches which will focus on trends and events in the churches and in the ecumenical movement.

Contretemps, Maybe?

The Erie, Pa. *Morning News* for Nov. 19 carried an advertisement of the Blue Army of Erie for a new stereo record, priced at $4.50.

Side one includes: "On This Day, O Beautiful Mother," the Angelus, "O Mary Conceived Without Sin, the Joyful Mysteries of the Rosary, and "Our Lady of Good Counsel."

Side two includes: "Immaculate Mary," the Memorare, "Mother Dearest, Mother Fairest," the Magnificat, "Come Holy Ghost, Creator Blest," etc., etc.

Alongside the ad was a news story headed: "Priest Seeks Liquor License."

Odds and Ends

—Enrollment in U.S. Catholic seminaries is down 55 percent since 1965; in the sisterhoods, 81 percent. That according to Msgr. Andrew A. McGowan, head of the National Conference of Diocesan Vocations Directors. Especially worrisome is said to be the number of men attending college-level seminaries. It is smaller than the number in post-college theologates—exactly the reverse of customary statistics.

—The Archdiocese of Denver recently closed its fiscal year with a surplus of $2,570,000. Its situation may be unique. The Archdiocese of Philadelphia is projecting a deficit of some $10 million over the next three years, much of this attributable to school costs. A 1972 estimate had elementary and secondary schools of the archdiocese "most likely" compiling a $55 million deficit by 1975.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Quoting Quotes

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: In his recent review of *The Future of Technological Civilization* [Oct. 25] Mr. Schoenwald criticizes my prose style. This is a permissible reaction, even if it is not one shared by the book's other reviewers. He caricatures my overall position on such issues as freedom and human identity. This is a license which, alas, has been allowed to reviewers from time immemorial. But I absolutely must object to the passage in his review which reads: "Nothing exists, though, beyond these generations, no transcendent directive, no God. 'Piety toward planet Earth' adequately acknowledges 'the forces of life which some call God.'" Wow! Quoting out of context is one thing, but the first four words in this particular quote come from Chapter 19 (page 283) and the last eight from Chapter 16 (page 241).

As it stands, the quotation is an absolute fabrication which violates the most elementary canons of intellectual decency. Mr. Schoenwald might just as well have written down all the words in the book on file cards and rearranged them at random to represent my views. That the import of Mr. Schoenwald's "quotation" is to imply to all my friends who read *Commonweal* that I am now an atheist adds injury to insult.

Despite several pages in the book on this subject the reviewer seems to have been unable to grasp the point that I was not writing a theological treatise but a book about politics. My views on the connection between theology and political theory are perhaps best represented by the passage in the book which reads: "The medieval scholastic concept of natural law . . . was essentially sound in recognizing that creation was a manifestation of divinity and that, leaving aside questions of 'eternal salvation,' all men regardless of their theologies or lack thereof can, by

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THE UN AND ISRAEL

The United Nations has gone through major crisis periods in the past—ranging from financial boycotts that threatened to bankrupt it, to a shoe-thumping incident that temporarily demeaned it as a serious forum for the discussion of world problems. The organization survived, of course—not always the stronger but in some respects wiser for the sobering lesson that respect is seldom universal.

With good fortune, the United Nations will also survive the coming and going of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat, although his visit and its aftermath becloud the UN's future as much as any upsetting event in its 29-year history. More immediately the Arafat appearance poses a threat in the world body to the recognition of Israel as a state with legitimate rights to existence; in the longer range, it threatens the viability of the UN itself by undercutting its charter as an organization of states (as distinct from pressure groups and anti-states) and by polarizing the so-called third world as a bloc unto itself.

The assessment may strike some as being overly pessimistic.Yet it is impossible not to be pessimistic about the viability of the UN when General Assembly status is conveyed as casually as it was upon the PLO. (Is the Assembly rostrum open now to the Basques, Free Quebecians, Russian émigrés and grievance groups generally?) It is impossible not to be pessimistic when an avowed terrorist, gun holster bulging under jacket, can walk into the UN and be accorded chief-of-state status . . . or when humanitarian agencies such as UNESCO become vehicles of political reprisal, as UNESCO has become in the instance of Israel.

The UN is fully within its rights in adopting positions of censure and in issuing sanctions against a member state, and it has done so a number of times: against Rhodesia, Portugal, South Africa and others. But always those actions followed careful and extended debate. This has not been the case in the actions against Israel. They have been characterized by such speed, emotion and partiality that one almost despairs for the UN itself. If the anti-Israeli and the pro-Arafat/PLO business becomes the rule rather

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than the exception to UN procedure, historians of tomorrow may well look back on the events of these recent weeks and see them as the critical downward turning point in the life of the world body, much as the spurning of Haile Selassie at Geneva in 1935 was the fatal turn in the life of the League of Nations. The Selassie and the PLO-Arafat cases are disparate in all their details—indeed, in their very nature. But their respective consequences could make them more analogous than most of us might wish to contemplate.

Nothing of the foregoing is meant to imply that the Palestine Liberation Organization should be shut out of the UN and its deliberations. The PLO, on the surface of things, has many legitimate aspirations, up to and including national identity. Not even Israel challenges the latter point, as Yosef Tekoah, the chief Israeli delegate to the UN, made clear in affirming "Israel's readiness and desire to reach a peaceful settlement with the Palestinian Arab state of Jordan in which Palestinian national identity would find full expression." The big question is whether PLO objectives are to be gained at the sacrifice of the national identity of Israel—and whether they are to be pursued in the UN by tactics that could cause the world body to self-destruct on the time-bombs of passion and partisanship. John A. Scali, chief U.S. delegate to the UN, is not being merely rhetorical when he warns that "self-centered actions" by the UN's new majority will not only erode support for the organization but also devastate its authority.

There are numerous problems in the way of peaceful and satisfactory settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian-Arab question—and some essential preconditions. Certainly the Arab nations must assume a more responsible diplomacy, including within the UN. The composition of the UN, and the Third World allegiances therein, guarantee the Arabs and the PLO the outcome of almost any vote relating to Israel that they might care to press. But a vote won is not necessarily a gain made—either for them or the UN. There must be a more mature and sober debate of issues—and at the same time continued step-by-step negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis, with doors not irrevocably closed to direct negotiations one day between the Israelis and the PLO. The PLO, for its part, must cease its terrorism and repudiate its stated goal to destroy Israel as a state. No state is under obligation to negotiate with people from whose hands their own blood runs; no state, as the *Washington Post* has editorialized, is bound to cooperate in its own undoing.

Finally, and most especially, there must be an acceptance on the part of all nations and groups involved that Israel has a right to continue to exist as a sovereign and independent state within secure and recognized boundaries. Whether this existence be within the boundaries Israel had before the 1967 war (as Britain, France and Italy have asked) or within frontiers that provide a more genuine security (as the Israelis appear to hold) is for negotiators to work out. But worked out they must be on terms that protect Israel's future as a nation, else Arab-Israeli war number five is only a matter of time. In which case, Lord help us all.

WASHINGTON REPORT

THE WINTER OF OUR DISCONTENT

Winter has come to this Baghdad on the Potomac and with it the chilling spirit of drift and disorder, even decay, is more enveloping than ever.

Of course, the political bazaars are doing their customarily brisk auction business, despite a general economic decline among the population at-large. The grandiloquent phrases of the satraps, political as well as governmental, multiply as ever. These are the "noble lies" as they are called in the diaries of the late British Labor party leader, Richard Crossman—diaries the incumbent Labor party government seeks to suppress.

The British somehow seem less taken with the high sounding phrasings of their governors—less inclined to "pity the plumage, but forget the dying bird." An Englishman, Kenneth Clark, in the course of his lectures, "Civilization. A Personal View" said: "If I had to say which was telling the truth about society, a speech by a Minister of Housing or the actual buildings put up in his time, I should believe the buildings."

Americans should paste this observation above their TV screens as they settle-in each evening for a recitation that purports to be the day's "news" by Cronkite, Chancellor & Smith, Ltd.—news that is derived in large measure from written governmental and elected political pamphleteers.

It'll help them translate double-speak. Incidentally, this year's annual awards of the Committee on Public Doublespeak included one to the last White House Press Secretary (one such award should be automatically reserved each year to whoever occupies this position) and to an Air Force Colonel who complained to reporters about their stories on bombing raids in Southeast Asia: "You always write it's bombing, bombing, bombing. It's not bombing! It's air support."

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Beyond the problem of communications, however, is that of the day's desperate events.

The President seems "over his head," to use a shirt-sleeves English language expression. The economy worsens; there is no government energy policy, although the oil companies have imposed theirs upon the nation; the latitude for governmental action seems to have narrowed in view of the greater power of large economic aggregations in those troubled areas that should have a more disinterested administration.

One avoids generalizations that come easily to mind at times like these. It is an option of historians to levy shaping phrases about the rise-and-fall of this or that civilization. Nevertheless, one, holding a lesser writ, may remark that if Nero fiddled while Rome burned, he, at least, was "doing something." Our leaders will be perhaps described by future historians as watching football games on television, a mind-numbing process, while it's third and long, long yardage for the country. On Thanksgiving Day instructively, although inadvertently, Gerald Ford, the grand vizier, was feasting inside the White House at a reunion with his teammates on their 1930 championship high-school football team. Outside, Dick Gregory and two members of the House of Representatives were walking up-and-down in a brisk wind in front of the Executive Mansion in protest against the Ford Administration's proposals to reduce expenditures for food and medical support of the needy. Contrary to Will Rogers' remark in the 1930s that Americans were the only nation to go to the poor house in an automobile, they can't this time. They can't afford the gasoline.

The economic structure differs in scope and kind from that confronting Franklin Roosevelt when he set out administratively to pull the nation out of a depression.

One that is only faintly beginning to be understood is the rise of the multinational corporation, or international corporations, such as IBM, that has been the subject of a study by Senator Frank Church of Idaho, chairman of a Foreign Relations Committee subcommittee. The Church study pointed out that the total sales of these corporations are greater than the GNP of the USSR and this country. They may become more powerful than the nation-state, traditional largest political unit of the last few centuries. An MIT economist describes a multi-national corporation as one that has "no country to which it owes more loyalty than any other, nor any country where it feels completely at home." Like the domestic corporation, it is an automatic, self-perpetuating oligarchy. Making the federal government's task more difficult, even if determined, courageous leaders were at its helm, is the technique of "administered prices," whose operation has been described by the economist Gardiner Means. As long ago as the 1950s, Means described to Congress that in industrial sectors, such as steel, the usual play of supply-and-demand are not determinants of price. The few producer corporations that exist in the steel-making industry are able to set prices for their products that will assure them of a specific rate of return, regardless of demand during any one period, exempted as they are from a fear of competition—it being far more prohibitively expensive to establish oneself in the steel-making business than to set up oneself as a blacksmith. Making price even more difficult to lower are other built-in costs found in an industrialized state—pension systems and labor union contracts among these.

Of course, the problem is not that a deep economic recession—even a depression—cannot be reversed in the 1970s. But the new factors suggest there may be a political and personal price of an unpalatable nature.

The Physiocrats argued in the Eighteenth Century that in order to be free— to speak, to write, to act in a public or private capacity—man would have to be provided with, or provide for himself, a base other than one ecclesiastically and/or politically controlled. The concept of private property, the Physiocrats advanced as just such an independent base. Today private property, corrupted by the rise of the collectivist corporation, no longer exists as such a shelter. The stockholder is nothing; the manager is all. And the collectivist corporation, in its international aspect, is more powerful than most nation-states. And nowhere is this more evident than in a sector of economic activity that lacks equity, flexible pricing and political control—energy, or oil, if you will. Our constitutional system of checks-and-balances is being nullified.

But a more pragmatic and immediate social problem confronts us in view of the advancing economic depression. This is what becomes of the economic toe-hold that blacks have achieved in recent years?

The philosophical underpinnings of the defense of segregation have been pulled away by a combination of court decisions and direct actions during the 1940s, '50s and '60s. But the hard step proved to be applying Sunday-sermon sentiments to the other six days of the week. The Congress and some state legislators passed equal-employment opportunities and fair-employment practices statutes and other measures designed to help unassimilated minorities obtain steady employment with avenues to promotion. Even in boom times, this was like shoving sand against the tide, although in some fields progress was made. Now in bad times, trouble is ahead. Whites, whether on the assembly line or on the academic line, now feel economically threatened.

There are, consequently, fewer voices among the politicians, in-and-out of Congress, being raised on behalf of retaining, much less advancing, the economic improvements of blacks and other minorities. White students, faced with a shrinking of middle-class jobs, are taking manual jobs available in recent years to minorities. Many professional blacks who face loss of their jobs are in social-science research organizations and other places

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of employment that have been largely federally funded. These funds are not flowing as abundantly as they once were for two reasons: 1. the Congress has correctly decided that much social science "research" is hokum and if hokum is to be financed let it be by others such as the Rockefeller Foundation; 2. the federal budget-makers' axe is falling first on social-sector programs, rather than on the military.

In addition, the Congressional climate shows signs of changing—for the worse. A ferocious struggle may occur next year in the Congress when legislation is introduced to make it clear that collective bargaining contractual provisions, relating to lay-offs ("last hired, first fired"), take precedence over any equal-employment or fair-employment statute. That'll be a bitter one, if unemployment continues to rise.

School busing is another indicator. Forecasts are risky, but Northern liberals in Congress are losing their stomach for another sustained defense of busing as a part of public-school integration efforts. Particularly, since busing has become a divisive issue in Northern cities—Boston, Detroit, Denver, Wilmington, etc. Still another indicator of weakened Congressional resolve occurred in late November. Members of a Senate and House conference, compromising differences over a major deficiency-appropriation bill, agreed on language that, for the first time by statute, would prohibit federal funds from being cut off to school districts practicing racial discrimination. Such a provision has been successfully resisted for many years. Senator Brooke, a conferee, did refuse to agree to the matter. And Senator Allen of Alabama, a prime exponent of old Southern ways, stands a pretty good chance of winning a seat on the Judiciary Committee, which has jurisdiction over civil rights and related legislation.

The Congress needs dissenters who appeal to the intelligence of a future day; dissenters, who will remind us of posterity's inevitable judgment. If it were a football game, President Ford and the sports-minded members of Congress would nod their heads approvingly at any coach who chalked on the locker room board something along the lines of "when the going gets tough, the tough get going" or some such Frank Merriwell-ism.

But the prospects for a stiff spine among these same men in the face of depression-generated social troubles are not encouraging. The President's voting record as a House member is a poor one in ameliorating the condition of the dispossessed.

What's ahead for the poor among minorities?

A "compromise" reminiscent of the infamous Compromise of 1877 that marked an end to Reconstruction?

SISYPHUS

●●●●●●●●●●●●●●

URBAN MINISTERS

IS THE SYSTEM REFORMABLE?

What do meetings of Catholic charismatics and Catholic social activists have in common? Both seem to prosper on the campus of the University of Notre Dame. The annual gathering of the charismatic movement has grown in size and enthusiasm each year, and now fills up the Irish football stadium. So too, the annual assembly of the Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry (CCUM)—though nowhere as large a meeting as that of the charismatics—has been growing each year. Close to 600 persons attended the 1974 CCUM meeting, Nov. 10 to 14, 100 more than last year's gathering and up markedly since the 35 attendees of the first meeting in 1970.

What brought the social activists to Notre Dame was a challenge to take a hard look at the U.S. economic system and to ask: is the system reformable? Monsignor Jack Egan, a long-time leader in social ministry and founder and chairperson of CCUM, said that he was "sick and tired of simplistic answers to changing large institutions—we need to be sure that we are asking the right questions." How to get a handle on those right questions was the primary purpose of the four-day meeting.

Such an analytical approach was a notable shift from CCUM's previous meetings. CCUM, headquartered at Notre Dame since Egan moved there in 1970 from Chicago, is not so much an "organization" as a "connection"—a means of linking numerous Catholic personnel, priests, religious, and lay, who are involved in a variety of practical social action. Previous meetings have been more of a "supermarket" of action strategies, offering workshops on ad hoc plans and projects. But in the past year the leaders of CCUM felt a need for a more substantive look at the total U.S. system within which these strategies, plans and projects operate.

In outlining the process for this meeting, David O'Brien, an historian at Holy Cross and CCUM board member, suggested that some probing examination of the alternatives of our political economy was called for today. Social activists struggling for justice in this country repeatedly find themselves up against the massive fact of the maldistribution of income, wealth and power in U.S. society. What are the connections between this fact and the social disorder and human suffering which community organizers, social workers, inner city pastoral

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teams, educators, and others engaged in social ministry regularly confront? And how do these connections relate to the overall economic system which presently reels from inflation, unemployment, and global pressures? O'Brien urged that there was a need to shatter the veils of mystery which hang around corporations and the economy. "We need to dymythologize General Motors and the Pentagon just as we did the papacy and the chancery!"

Primary analysis of the economic system was offered by Richard Barnet, a founder and director of the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies and co-author of an important up-coming study of multinational corporations, *Global Reach*. According to Barnet, the United States never really recovered systemically from the Great Depression of the 1930's. Our "peculiar prosperity"—consequent upon entry into war and sustained military production down to today—has rested on a series of myths which are now beginning to collapse. Key among the myths mentioned by Barnet is that we have a "free market" economy subject only to the scientific hand of government regulation. Instead, he insisted, the economy of the United States is dominated by a set of oligopolistic corporations, which do not compete in price, which grow even larger through mergers, and which are increasingly global in their operations.

The freedom of large corporations to plan, profit, and reduce competition in this country is no longer held in check, Barnet said, by the traditional "countervailing powers" described by John Kenneth Galbraith and others. The strength of labor unions has declined with the internationalization of the economy, the check provided by diversity in the business sector has decreased with the increasing disappearance of small businesses, and the "business-government inter-lock" has rendered impotent any effective government regulation.

Barnet's suggestions for change—his answer to the question "is the system reformable?"—did not seem to match the radical character of his analysis of the problem. At least that seemed to be the reaction of several of the working seminars which were designed to view the economic system through the "lenses" of specific issues such as hunger, poverty, mass transportation, housing, land use, and the global marketplace. These seminars did explore strategies to implement Barnet's recommendation for political change which would be locally-based and which would utilize economic issues to organize the "have-nots"— now more than ever a potential majority of people in this country.

The social ministry context for the CCUM discussions was set in speeches by J. Bryan Hehir, director of the United States Catholic Conference's Division for Justice and Peace, and Philip Murnion, director of the Office of Pastoral Research of the Archdiocese of New York. Hehir's message was a strong emphasis on the 1971 Synod's statement that action on behalf of justice was a "constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel." Social ministry, according to Hehir, is not peripheral but pivotal to the task of the Church, and he saw particular relevance of this fact to the U.S. church's celebration of the 1976 Bicentennial under the theme "liberty and justice for all." Murnion presented a complex and provocative analysis calling for attention to the social values of community amidst the struggle for social change. "We must ask ourselves," he said, "whether the manner in which we organize social ministry does not simply exacerbate our current malaise by organizing coalitions of power in which people may be responsible *to* one another but not *for* one another." He asked for greater "communal commitment" on the part of social activists.

In many ways, CCUM's meeting was a microcosm of the macrocosm which is the U.S. church as it attempts to come to grips with social change in this country. The problems faced at the meeting are the problems which must be faced in our larger society if any significant change is to come:

1. *Women.*—At the conclusion of the seminar reports, the "women's caucus" took over the plenary session to protest continued sexism in CCUM. Despite the election of Ms. Peggy Roach as new executive director, elements in the program—ranging from composition of the panels to celebrants of the liturgies—failed to reflect that over 50 percent of the participants were women. Situations such as this, of course, have to change.

2. *Coalition politics.*—There was frequent call for working with labor and ethnic groups in order to assure that effective organization takes place to confront the economic system. Relating especially to unions (where many Catholic ethnics are to be found) has not marked many recent Catholic social efforts. This must be high on the agenda of social activists in the next decade.

3. *Theological reflection.*—Something new was tried during the issue seminars: theologians were invited to offer input in the course of discussion. The experiment was not altogether successful in every instance, but it did provide occasionally useful and insightful data. One thing the effort did make clear was the need to develop more pastoral theologians who are at ease with this type of dialogue with activists.

4. *Socialism.*—The need repeatedly emphasized for a frank, open, and creative discussion in the U.S. Catholic community of the alternative of democratic socialism. Interestingly enough, opposition to this discussion came not from those who feared "atheistic Communism" but from those who preferred immediate, pragmatic, ad hoc solutions within the system to what they considered theoretical, ivory-towered considerations of a new system. It is evident that those who wish to legitimate the discussion of socialism in this country—among whom I include myself and many others who attended CCUM—will have to challenge the activists to more strategic think-

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ing while themselves being open to more pragmatic considerations.

By providing a wide-ranging forum for exploring approaches to social change, CCUM must ultimately open itself to the charge of being frustrating to most participants. At the same time, this frustration is breaking new and necessary ground for the church in this country. As a result CCUM, along with the charismatics, will probably be returning in ever-greater numbers next year to Notre Dame

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FREEDOMS IN SPAIN

MAKING NO HASTE SLOWLY

Barcelona

President Carlos Arias Navarro's program for freedoms for Spain is dead. Francisco Labadie made this assertion in his keynote speech at ceremonies marking the 41st anniversary of the founding of the Falange, Spain's fascist party.

Labadie declared that the Falange would defend their views against all "conspirators." His speech had been approved by Generalissimo Francisco Franco, chief of state, who presided over the occasion. Honor guest was Prince Juan Carlos de Borbon, who has been chosen by the 81-year-old Franco as his successor.

The program, proposed to the Cortes on February 12, when Arias Navarro assumed office, was liberal in every aspect, except in regard to the Catholic Church, which was the object of his criticism. He said: "The government maintains conditions which permit (the Church) to discharge without bonds the sacred mission and the exercise of its apostolate, but recognizes with the same firmness, that which interferes in questions that, going over the temporal horizon of the community, are reserved to the justice and decision of the civil authority." This followed statements on social justice made by Cardinal Enrique y Tarancon, archbishop of Madrid; Cardinal Narcisco Jubany Arnau, archbishop of Barcelona, and others and the statement of all the Spanish bishops, "The Church and the Political Community." The latter advocated complete separation of Church and State, the end to the right of the Spanish chief of state to name bishops, and asked that the Church cease to be "an instrument for any political or partisan purpose." The bishops said, "We wish to carry out our duty free of pressures."

A new concordat was then pending. It has not progressed.

Otherwise, Arias Navarro called for "popular participation in political and social affairs . . . as wide as possible excluding only those who excluded themselves by resorting to subversion and violence." He asserted that "a new bill on local administration" would "be presented to the Cortes before May 31."

He promised decrees "allowing for separate associations of workers and management within the officially sponsored unions which are now the only legal ones in Spain. Under the present system, the unions include labor and management under one roof in an effort to eliminate class struggle." He also declared for "a bill establishing the right of political associations so that they may appear in national political life." These associations, or parties, would operate within the National Movement, the only legal political entity in Spain.

These reforms, although limited in scope, would grant epochal freedoms for Spain.

One, granting greater freedom of the press, went into effect almost immediately. However, Pio Cabanillas Gallas, the Minister of Information, was recently fired, with vice president and housing minister, Antonio Barrera de Irmo, then resigning in protest. This was followed by the resignation of eleven senior Information Ministry officials and threatened resignation of other officials.

Among the eleven who resigned was Under Secretary of Information Marcelino Oreja, 39, who has stressed the need of press freedom and political liberalization in Spain. He refused to attend the Falange anniversary ceremonies.

Further resignations were stopped only by the personal intervention of Prince Juan Carlos. Barrera de Irimo warned the liberals that if more of their leading government representatives quit, the Council of Ministers would be left completely in the hands of the Right.

Despite the pleas, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez resigned as president of the National Institute of Industry, the nation's biggest employer and developer. Although the official announcement gave no reason for the resignation, government sources said he took the action to protest against the purge of liberals from key posts. He was one of the major economic experts named by Arias Navarro. His resignation and that of Barrera de Irimo, both of whom had proposed plans for stemming the critical economic crisis in Spain, will have an immediate effect upon what the government does about the situation.

The cost of construction alone increased 22 percent in the first six months of this year. Steel, which is fundamental in building apartments, business and factory buildings in this country, went up 52.3 percent. As a result

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of the inflation, unemployment and strikes have been widespread.

Tacitus, the name used by a liberal Christian Democratic group in writing for the Madrid Catholic newspaper, *Ya,* said that "confusion and anxiety are at high levels." Luis Apostua, the Catholic daily's regular political commentator, stated agreement with Tacitus that the death blow to Spanish liberalization had been dealt by Francisco Labadie in the Fascist meeting. Apostua praised Pio Cabanillas, the dismissed Information Minister, and Barrera de Irimo. A Barcelona newspaper columnist warned that if the reforms are not enacted, "the next opening will not come from this regime; others will do it."

HARRY W. FLANNERY

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THE GREEK ELECTION

DEMOCRACY COMES HOME

For the first time in ten years Greeks freely entered polling booths and marked the ballots of their choice—democracy was restored. And when they emerged they had given Constantine Karamanlis and his New Democracy party an astounding parliamentary majority. The people relish their new freedom and don't want to jeopardize it, so they voted for Karamanlis as a guarantee against the tanks. That, quite simply, is what happened in the Greek election. But what it means for the future, both internally here and in policy toward America, is a more complex question.

Karamanlis called the elections early, while still at the peak of his popularity from triumphal return last July, in order to ensure a majority. But even so the political wheels moved swiftly. Opposition parties mustered their forces and political pundits began talking seriously about whether any party would have enough votes to form a government. The old Center Union of the late George Papandreou, which had won the last pre-coup election, joined with the New Political Forces, a group of somewhat younger men and women, many of whom had been jailed by the junta. But the party was dealt a major blow when Andreas Papandreou, son of George and hero of youth, returned from exile and formed the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Union (PASOK). Many observers here thought PASOK might even finish second behind New Democracy. The theory went that if you were going to oppose Karamanlis you would go all the way and vote for Papandreou, a sharper alternative than the Center's more moderate George Mavros. Some members of the Center even hinted darkly that Papandreou had been hired by the CIA to split the opposition and ensure Karamanlis' victory. In a time when almost any CIA plot seems plausible, this one doesn't, since anti-Americanism serves as the major plank in Papandreou's platform. The Communist party, legal for the first time since 1947, also saw Papandreou's socialist stand as a threat to its vote. And the Communists had internal problems of their own.

With all this infighting onlookers began to believe that Greece was back to politics as usual with no cooperation and possibly no government. But only the left was divided. The only other candidate of the Right—Peter Garoufalias, a pro-monarchy, pro-junta joke—posed no threat to New Democracy. Karamanlis kept insisting that it was not politics as usual, that the people had reached a new "political maturity." (He used the term constantly as a codeword—in much the same way Nixon used "law and order"—implying that his opposition was immature and inviting the return of the military.) And he proved right.

It was an unusual election where the only real question was whether the Greeks would give a personal mandate to Constantine Karamanlis. The campaign was devoid of other issues, and any that emerged Karamanlis quickly defused. The Cyprus situation remains diplomatically delicate and no one cared to make a point of it. When Karamanlis' opponents accused him of moving too slowly to punish the junta he banished the leaders to an Aegean Island. Then the Court of Appeals announced an investigation into charges of high treason against Papadopoulas and 49 others.

Papandreou tried to expand anti-Americanism into a rejection of the Common Market and a chance to consolidate ties with Eastern Europe. But Karamanlis understood that in a country where the word for east is the classical word for Turkey, the people consider themselves Westerners. When the Center implied that a New Democracy Parliament could reinstate the king, Karamanlis set a date for a popular referendum on the monarchy. Above all, he recognized the people's need for stability. His campaign organizers privately admitted that their unspoken slogan was "No More Tanks" and the people believed it. Only in the salons of Athens, which ironically came under Papandreou's criticism, was PASOK considered a threat. In the villages and on the islands all you heard was Karamanlis. Partly because the people there still see the policemen and still fear them, and in some cases because they really believe him to be "O Sotiros tis Ellades" (The Savior of Greece) they would support their leader. The words would re-

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peat themselves in conversation after conversation, from the old men in the Cafenion to the young women in the park, "peace and quiet," "stability" and "now Greece needs strength, maybe next time Papandreou, but this time we need Karamanlis."

So this time it is Karamanlis. The election doesn't mean that Greece has taken a dramatic shift to the right, even though it was a setback for the left. No age breakdowns are available but it is generally assumed that the bulk of Papandreou's support came from the youth. And in recent university elections the left achieved a huge majority. More of this strength should be seen in terms of the vote next time around since all parties support lowering the voting age to 18. (Although Karamanlis specifically rejected it this time.) New political alignments are likely to result. The parties that didn't have time to organize well before elections will have time now. And leftists are saying they have a base to build on.

Many people fear that Karamanlis' mandate for stability could bring about the opposite. He will have such an overwhelming majority in Parliament (221 out of 300 seats) that it will be hard for the other voices to be heard inside the system. So one hears now much talk, as you did after the defeats of McCarthy and McGovern, that the youth might "take to the streets," force confrontation with the police and invite repressive measures. And university administrations can expect hard days ahead. The lid has been clamped on the pot of social change for seven years and now the demands are likely to come boiling out: equal rights for women—including changes in the Constitution and laws—reorganization of the labor unions, demands for higher wages, reform of the Church, standardization of the language. A New Democracy Parliament might not be the best one to deal with these questions. In Greek elections ticket-splitting is forbidden and when the people voted for Karamanlis they had to take his party in the package. Some Karamanlis advisers admit that second-rate candidates came in the landslide, pushing out superior members of the Center. The low quality of deputies is particularly unfortunate now since this Parliament will revise the Constitution.

On election night a somewhat besotted Russian correspondent called it a "victory for America." People in the U.S. Embassy here aren't so sure. Karamanlis is a friend but he is a strong and independent character. He is quite willing to use the American bases here as a lever on the U.S. for support on the Cyprus issue and it is fully expected that the leases will be renegotiated. The Americans are beginning to say that the bases aren't all that crucial after all, which is somewhat disheartening to hear after they served as the justification for support of the military regime. But Karamanlis will be careful not to lose America's friendship, and here too he has sensed the mood of his people. Papandreou saw that Greeks felt humiliated and betrayed by America and took that to mean that they wanted to be rid of it. But Karamanlis understands that all Greeks really want is to be treated with dignity by this powerful state whose protection and money they still feel they need. So he will make it clear to his friends that he is their equal, not their client, and the relationship must change.

COKIE ROBERTS

(Cokie Roberts, a previous contributor, is an American newspaper and radio journalist living in Athens.)

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MADELEINE MYSKO

ARGOS

Poems aren't made of the likes of you, old Dog,
And yet I strap you on, along with a dozen
Other things bumping against my mind
All the way down the hill to the post office

And back. Children whiz by on bicycles
In a yellow storm of leaves. The bus to Ardmore
Labors up the street. Squirrels scratch
Down the elms. And you lie sleeping in the gutter.

What am I to make of you, old Dog?
Grey and ragged, you hug a scrap of sunlight
To your bones. Leaves fall and you blink them away.
Running in dream fields, are you? After the fox?

Ah, you were never so noble, old mongrel Dog.
Your nose was trained to trash cans and neighborhood cats.
Sleep on, Boy. I'm no Odysseus either.
No reason why you should lift your muzzle for me.

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HISTORICAL ORTHODOXY

MICHAEL NOVAK

Some months ago, Robert Hoyt gave me and others credit for once having been "courageous" in being "among the first openly to question the papal teaching on birth control." What he especially liked, then, was that our questioning was "aimed at the style of thinking which produced that teaching: the same 'non-historical orthodoxy' exposed in *The Open Church.*" He deplored what he interpreted as a turn away from this sort of questioning.

There still are orthodoxies that guide the thinking of many Catholics (and others), not quite the orthodoxies of a decade ago. These orthodoxies are not much better than non-historical orthodoxy—indeed, they share much in common with it. It would be a blind critic who would spend his life attacking the same foe, when rapid events shift alignments, battlelines, and even communications. Integrity today demands occasional disagreements with one's friends, disagreements that disconcert and puzzle. Isn't that the meaning of dissent? Fraternity depends on each of us, from our own angle, calling attention to weaknesses in each other.

I find myself saddened by the orthodoxies of the recent period. These orthodoxies exhibit, on the one hand, a certain rootlessness and abstractness, and, on the other, an idealization of history and "process." An appropriate name for this mythic outlook appears to be "historical orthodoxy." History, the future, change—these provide the substance of the orthodoxy.

We are led to imagine that our purpose on earth is to "raise consciousness" and then by all-mastering will to change the world. The root of the new orthodoxies, in a word, is faith in the human will. The same faith lies behind the mythologies of industrial progress and growth; and now it is applied to individual will and social will: the mythology of social transformation, of "liberation," of "humanization."

What is missing from this orthodoxy is a respect for institutions, for traditions, for the tangledness of human communities, for the inertia of history. Whereas historical orthodoxy holds that human beings are responsible for progress, a Christian and Jewish humanism keeps a sharp eye on the costs and the duplicities of "progress," recognizing the irony and tragedy of every advance and the cyclical, even sisyphean nature of "change." Historical orthodoxy is pelagian; it puts far too much trust in the "openness" and "honesty" at the heart of individuals, left to themselves, and it has excessive faith in the malleability of social institutons and the possibilities of social reconstruction. "Hope" is its most illusory virtue, the "future" its most destructive and abstract category. Its trust is placed considerably lower than in God.

The characteristic personality trait of those afflicted with historical orthodoxy is a heaping up of unrealistic guilt and moral blame. If humans *can* be humanized, and *can* revolutionize society, then when they do not they are morally deficient. Christianity, by contrast, offers forgiveness and Judaism the compassion of God. Historical orthodoxy, holding up an unrealizable standard, unleashes vast self-hatred, and ends often in misanthropy —the accusation Camus made against Sartre.

Recently, an American sociologist interviewed teenagers in England and in the United States. The English young people tended to believe that the individual is dishonest, unreliable, selfish, egotistical; and that institutions serve to keep individuals in line and to bring out in them higher qualities. The American young people tended to think the individual is basically good, honest, generous, reliable; and that institutions impede, distort and corrupt. It is the latter view that exemplifies historical orthodoxy.

Historical orthodoxy has left-wing and right-wing manifestations. On the right, this orthodoxy leads to the cult of growth, competition and industrial progress; men conquering nature, pioneering the frontier, etc. On the left, this orthodoxy leads to the cult of social revolution, social engineering, self-fulfillment, personal liberation: good words, easily corrupted.

It is possible to be a man or woman of the left and not be governed by historical orthodoxy. In that case, one believes that history is neither stagnant nor a closed vise, but a recalcitrant, difficult, and ironic master. Humans do not master history, but they may learn from it and contribute at least a little to its shape. Perhaps, usually because of forces outside anyone's control, they may even contribute dramatically to the shape of the future. But such drama is always partly tragic: many individuals and groups suffer in every "advance," and every advance is simultaneously, at least in substantial part, a decline. Very little—probably nothing at all—is pure gain. History offers, at best, sets of trade-offs; loss and gain. For the past fifty years medical advances have saved millions of lives; now millions die by starvation.

In this view, the appropriate attitude is neither non-historical orthodoxy, nor historical orthodoxy. We are not saved by history. We do work out our salvation in history. Our faith is not in history, which is dark, tricky, and finally intractable. The world probably will end in disaster. But whatever happens in history, we can endure, with some measure of

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CHRISTMAS IN POETRY

JOHN DRUSKA

(*Continued from front cover*)

mas poetry and its immediate heirs, when not recalling us to the folk heritage of mid-winter feasting that Christians adapted as their own (see the first part of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* for one such revel), tend to revive and hallow the event of Christ's birth and all actions that attend it. Many of these poems—a good number of them set as carols, that type of song whose religious use some trace to the second century A.D.—draw Christmas near for their listeners by localizing scenic or dramatic detail. A sixteenth-century cradle song, for example, varies the words of a French nurse's lullaby to include its speaker and audience in homage to the Christ child:

> The knees of my heart sall I bow
> And sing that right Balulalow.
> *(quoted in* The Story of the Carol,
> *New York: Scribner's, 1911)*

In another sixteenth-century carol, French shepherds (Margot, Cocquart, *et. al.)* give the child a lamb, a redwing, and milk (translated in *A Christmas Book,* E. Sayre, ed., New York: Potter, 1966). An old Spanish carol adds "One small fish from the river" and "One wild bee from the heather" to the family of animals at the manger (trans. by R. Sawyer in *Welcome Christmas!,* New York: Viking, 1955). Robert Herrick in the seventeenth century sends a "pretty child" to visit "His Saviour, a Child," bearing a flower to place on "His bib, or stomacher" and "a whistle new,/made of a clean straight oaten reed." And in the first American carol, "Jesous Ahatonhia," credited to the seventeenth-century Jesuit martyr Jean de Brébeuf and written in the Huron language, God the Father appears as "Gitchi Manitou" sending choirs of angels to sing over his Son, who is wrapped in a "ragged robe of rabbit skin." Chiefs replace Magi in the song, bringing "gifts of fox and beaver pelt" (trans. by J.E. Middleton in *The Christmas Book of Legends and Stories,* New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1944).

Through such poems and many others on into our time—through this celebratory tradition of Christmas poetry—runs an awareness of the paradoxes innate to Christ's birthday. Southwell poses the riddle: "Patrem Parit Filia"; Donne writes of Christ as "Immensitie" who makes himself "Weake enough, now into our world to come" ("Nativitie"); and Christopher Smart hails the Nativity's "magnitude of meekness" ("The Nativity of Our Lord").

Before such wonders awe and rejoicing are in order, on earth's part as well as its creatures'. William Austin and others have Chanticleer singing long before dawn to herald Christ's appearance, a legend Shakespeare alludes to in the first scene of *Hamlet,* where Marcellus invokes the wholesome season of "our Saviour's birth":

> No fairy takes, nor witch has power to charm;
> So hallow'd and so gracious is the time.

In Drummond's "The Shepherd's Song," "springs ran nectar, honey dropped from trees." Milton hymns the beginning of man's redemption, an end to the "old Dragon's" sway. Longfellow translates a Neapolitan carol that shows the earth turning to paradise at Christmas. E.A. Robinson addresses "A Christmas Sonnet" to "one in doubt," reclaiming for the twentieth century at least a trace of what man received millennia ago:

> Something is here that was not here before,
> And strangely has not yet been crucified.

Poets of the celebratory tradition, some prey to dog-

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gerel at times, have nevertheless managed to produce a canon of genuinely good Christmas poetry. Dunbar's "Of the Nativity of Christ," written about 1500, marks as well as any poem the flowering of this tradition:

Star, planet, firmament, and sphere,
Fire, earth, air, and water clear,
To give him loving, most and least,
That comes in to so meek manner;
Et nobis Puer natus est.

And poems like Hopkins' "The Blessed Virgin Compared to the Air We Breathe" illustrate the vitality of the tradition beyond its medieval sources. Hopkins asks in his poem that the mother who "came to mould" Christ's limbs be "my atmosphere":

If I have understood,
She holds high motherhood
Towards all our ghostly good
And plays in grace her part
About man's breathing heart,
Laying, like air's fine flood,
The deathdance in his blood;
Yet no part but what will
Be Christ our Saviour still.

As strong as the joyful wonder in much of this Christmas poetry is the sense of evil at work in the world and challenged by the Christ child. Several of the quotes above suggest this and show how the birth transforms a flawed world. For the celebratory poets, as long as Christ has moved earth and men and can keep doing so through their poems, there is reason to hope and have faith, even for someone like Vaughan, "all filth and obscene" (Christ's Nativity").

Their faith, their conception of the universe, their sense of decorum—all contributed no doubt to the way Christmas allowed such poets to rise above the social matrix of their time and celebrate the Nativity's general balm. Other conventions like love, after all, allowed some of them similar liberties.

After the seventeenth century, though, Christmas poetry, at least in the English language, loses a good deal of its religious vigor and the feast seems to attract fewer genuine celebrants. There hadn't been a real tradition of Christmas poetry in early America, where Puritan churchmen discouraged Christmas festivity, although many Puritan churchgoers did their utmost to ignore the ban. In Europe folk traditions, through which so many carols descended, had long before started to wane. Soon an age of reasonable satire reshaped English letters; and an age of machine followed hard upon it. Christmas, so insistent on the simplicity of its origins, suffered in a world growing more complex.

When poets like Pope, Coleridge and Browning write about Christmas it's evident the occasion isn't all that much a source of inspiration to their poetry. Pope cranks out sub-par couplets in "The Messiah", in which the Saviour "on the sightless eye-ball (shall) pour the day"; and Coleridge comes up with just a line in "The Holy Mother" that even suggests the attractive naiveté of medieval lyrics: "The milk rushed faster to her breast." Browning's "Christmas Eve" loses that day's symbolic import in a lengthy dream-treatise on comparative religions that is sometimes playful, sometimes tedious.

Poets more isolated from their society or closer to the folk (and so perhaps to the source of medieval faith), like Clare and Hardy, catch something of the ancient impulse to celebrate Christmas. Neither, though, can indulge it entirely. Clare, after a long evocation of old Christmas customs in "Christmas Time," realizes how isolate he is in his appreciation: ". . . soon the poet's song will be/The only refuge they (the customs) can find." Hardy, likewise, recalls in "The Oxen" an old legend of the animals kneeling before Christ, related to him by an "elder" one Christmas Eve. "So fair a fancy few would weave/In these years!" he laments, longing to follow someone to "the lonely barton by yonder coomb/Our childhood used to know," where he hopes to see the oxen kneel.

While these two poems hearken to traditional Christmas celebrations, Clare's reduction of hope to his own words and Hardy's nostalgia are in fact elements of what has come to be another tradition in Christmas poetry, the skeptical. In this strain Christmas occasions regret, nostalgia, despair and their kin, or else just occurs, is played upon as a kind of counterpoint to the poet's (often melancholic) state.

The re-occurrence of Christmas through "In Memoriam" heightens Tennyson's grief with childhood memories, reminds him of loss and his regret's mutation, and at last charts his movement beyond memory to "new unhallowed ground." Though it seems incidental, Christmas is catalytic in Tennyson's poem; and he solves his dilemma, in a sense, by outgrowing the accretions of past Christmases. While this kind of assertive rebirth is hardly commonplace in more recent poetry, the role Christmas plays in this poem, the way it plays through the poem causing occasional reflection, is distinctly modern.

The reckoning that Christmas forces on the modern poet, what it makes him admit of his world, has undercut the celebratory tradition of earlier times, but it has also helped infuse the twentieth century with Christmas poetry of several kinds, making our own age as important in its handling of Christmas themes as the more orthodox medieval centuries and the Metaphysical period.

Modern times have brought to us not just Christmas under a changed aspect, but Christmas forcibly altered, hemmed by massive commercialism, World Wars, mundane alienation.

Poets as diverse as Millay and Ferlinghetti have scored that commercialism. Ironically the latter's "Christ Climbed Down," as Christian in its way as the story of Christ's chastising the money-changers, has caused part

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of the recent textbook controversies in American schools because it predicts Christ's re-entry into "some anonymous Mary's womb" for "the very craziest/of Second Comings."

War, of course, isn't unique to our century. Longfellow, for one, had briefly anticipated Christmas' role in our world in "Christmas Bells." There he rails against the Civil War; but the bells persist and bring him back to his faith in peace on earth. Later, after the Great War and Irish civil strife, Yeats is less hopeful. He declares "The ceremony of innocence . . . drowned" and envisions a "rough beast" that "slouches toward Bethlehem to be born" as "The Second Coming." We enter with him and others our eternally postwar modern age. Another war later Jeffers looks at "veils under veils of the vanished England" and discovers the "seas netted with ambushes/ and the skies falling"; but recalling how "Dark was that first Christmas Day," he implies, though faintly, hope again in the figure of the ox ("Two Christmas Cards"). World War II had made such hope in the Christmas promise of good will and peace more difficult than ever to summon. In "Holy Innocents" Robert Lowell symbolizes the year 1945 as an oxcart laboring uphill:

If they (the oxen) die
As Jesus, in the harness, who will mourn?
Lamb of the shepherds, child, how still you lie.

Beyond this, Giorgio Orelli's "Christmas 1944" shows us a world in which nothing human remains, nothing of the blood that Christ and men have shed:

. . . bewildered bells tremble
. . . night falls
like so many other nights uselessly
luminous in the vast embrace of the moon.
(trans. by L. Lawner in Modern European Poetry, *New York: Bantam, 1966)*

Perhaps Anthony Hecht's grim humor is all we have left for solace. He cannot match for his children those TV heroes who "make the world behave." All he has is a wish:

. . . that their sleep be sound
I say this childermas*
Who could not, at one time
Have saved them from the gas.

*(*feast of Holy Innocents, Dec. 28)*

Hecht's poem reflects that side of the skeptical tradition that deals with communal concerns like war, as well as the more introverted side that uses Christmas as a means to consider the condition of one's own self in a world whose oppression is normally taken for granted. Further over on this side, there is Allen Tate turning from a strangely nourishing silence ("knowing a nightmare has no sound") in 1934 ("Sonnets at Christmas") to a hopeless involuted vision of a "mummy Christ" on a day that's a "decapitate joke" ("More Sonnets at Christmas," 1942.) Or the girl in Randall Jarrell's "The Night Before the Night Before Christmas" who has lost her mother and favorite squirrel, and who drifts into a vision of fields where "not one thing . . . knows/It is almost Christmas" and of her death: "She and her brother floating up from the snow" to become "the wings of the bird of snow." There is James Wright who confronts a ghost and his own death in "A Christmas Greeting," and is "sick and alone" somewhere "past the hidden graves/Of Chippewas and Norwegians" in "Having Lost My Sons, I Confront the Wreckage of the Moon: Christmas 1960." There are the curiously sympathetic allusions to the child amid the harsh, apparently anti-religious sentiment of Sylvia Plath's "Nick and the Candlestick" and "Mary's Song." In the former the speaker appears as a miner in a nightmarish "earthen womb," part of which he furnishes with Victoriana to receive a love who is

the one
Solid the spaces lean on, envious.
You are the baby in the barn.

In the latter grotesque visions of "grey birds," "ovens" and a "holocaust" lead to the speaker's identification with a "golden child the world will kill and eat." And there is Gerardo Diego's "Christmas Eve," his portrait of a world seen in surrealistic animation, an emblem of the speaker's inability to believe. A "melancholy house(s) . . . dies unnoticed" while the other houses "comb their roofs," and "the moon will not appear/nor will the street-lamp cradle the drunkard" (trans. by A. Flores in *Modern European Poetry).*

The skeptical tradition of Christmas poetry, ranging from intimations of futility to outright nihilism, suggests that the event of Christ's birth has lost (perhaps never had) its effect on man's personal and communal histories. Christmas, once regarded as miraculous, is especially now merely ironic. By it we gauge our losses; and it may be they demoralize us more because of what Christmas had once caused men to expect.

Some modern poets, however, have revivified the celebratory tradition of Christmas poetry. Several of them, as we have seen, imply a lingering faith in the power of the first Christmas that, however, is just about extinguished. Other poets, by virtue of their personal visions, appear more certain of the feast's efficacy. The ashes in William Carlos Williams' "Burning the Christmas Greens" signal not the loss of Christmas but another world that its passage creates; in them a miraculous "infant landscape" takes shape and refreshes the poet. Auden's long Christmas Oratorio, *For the Time Being,* undercut as it is by his knowledge that it's just a seasonal ceremony, ineffective on the world's stage, still is informed by Auden's belief in a love that thwarts human understanding, that makes what little we have sufficient for the time being. Patrick Kavanagh manages, if only for the moment, to return himself to "A Christmas Childhood," where his father plays the melodeon and

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mother milks the cows as Kavanagh admires the unworldly beauty of his common Irish landscape:

One side of the potato-pits was white with frost—
How wonderful that was, how wonderful!
And when we put our ears to the paling-post
The music that came out was magical.

While William Stafford remembers the "Christmas Mother made paper/presents . . . and (we hung up tumbleweed for a tree" as part of "The Rescued Year," an evocation of childhood that calms him until "in the quiet I hold no need, no hurry." He will wait until time, in the shape of a train, reverses and runs back into itself, to replenish the present with the past as his words have done in the poem.

In our world it's probably worth recalling that what one's words do can offer us a source of miracle. The modern poet may not be George Herbert shepherding his thoughts, words and deeds, singing to a sun whose beams he wishes would twine with his breast, "till beams sing and music shine" ("Christmas"). Not Milton hastening his Muse to beat "star-led wizards" to the child "And lay (thy humble ode) lowly at His Bless'd feet" ("Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity"). Not even Clare, creating in his song a "refuge" for Christmas' ancient rites. It's clear that few poets today agree on what Christmas means. Yet men of good will and all faiths, or no faith, still respond to Christmas in their poetry. It may be that Christmas is in poetry because we can't do without it and neither can poetry. Christmas is, after all, John tells us, a form of poetry, the Word's coming to life. Christmas, by its nature, requires attention, whether from the skeptical or faithful. And it could force poets to perform miracles.

As he regards Christmas the modern poet may find it still necessary to speak of the child as a locus of men's hopes and fears, a miraculous source of poetry in a prosaic world. This is what Kenneth Patchen does in "I Have Lighted the Candles, Mary," when in a "bitter world" he sees "the cold, swollen face of war lean in the window." The poet speaks to his wife ("the taste of tears is in her mouth") and to Christ's mother, revealing that Christmas may have been betrayed by the world, but must be kept alive in it. Otherwise, Patchen implies, we (and poetry with us surely) risk madness:

They are blowing out the candles, Mary . . .
The world is a thing gone mad tonight.
O hold him tenderly, dear Mother.
For He is a kingdom in the hearts of men.

THE WAR SYNDICATE

DOUGLAS MATTERN

In a season of peace, a report on the armaments race

During September of 1974, representatives from four NATO countries—Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Norway—arrived in the United States to discuss what Europeans have called the arms deal of the century. Acting as a consortium, the representatives are shopping for an aircraft to replace their aging Lockheed F-104G fighters built in the early 1960s.

The four-nation consortium also visited France and Sweden, the major competitors with the U.S. over this sale. Sweden is offering their new Saab-Scania Viggen jet fighter, and France the Mirage F1/M53 built by Dassault-Breguet. The U.S. is proposing the winning selection in competition between General Dynamic's single-engine YF-16 jet fighter, and Northrop's twin-engine YF-17, nicknamed the Cobra. The selection will be made sometime in mid-January by the U.S. Air Force. As an added inducement over this sale, the representatives were actually invited to participate with the USAF in the final evaluation of the aircraft.

After their stay in Washington, D.C., the representatives were flown to Edwards Air Force Base in California to witness flight demonstrations of the two aircraft. Throughout their visit in this country the members of the consortium were given the red carpet treatment with all of the trimmings. This is an indication of what is fully at stake in this arms deal. U.S. officials give a short-term sales projection of 1,500 for this type of aircraft, including 350 to the consortium, 500 to what are termed third-cate ory countries both inside and outside of NATO, and . . to the U.S. Air Force. Long-term sales estimates are conservatively set at 3,000, which, with maintenance contracts and supplies, could total $20 billion for the overall program. Iran has already indicated a purchase of 250, and 800 are projected for Western European countries. Each aircraft will cost $4.5 million.

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So fierce is the competition over this sale that France has even offered to help clear the pollution from the Rhine river and to increase its food purchase from the Netherlands, as well as appealing to European unity. The U.S. has expressed a willingness to establish a large supply and maintenance center for these aircraft in one of the European countries as part of the USAF worldwide logistics network. Both France and the U.S. have agreed that some of the fabrication and assembly of the aircraft will be done in one or more of the European countries. However, with all of the promises, the U.S. is expected to gain the contract due to its greater political leverage, including the threat to pull some U.S. troops out of NATO.

This is currently the largest single arms deal on the international market, yet only part of the annual multi-billion-dollar armament business. While the major powers have turned our planet into a ticking time-bomb through their production and deployment of tens of thousands of massive nuclear weapons, they have also turned it into a virtual arsenal of conventional weapons beyond anything even remotely conceivable 30 years ago. The U.S. is by far the largest supplier of weapons, followed by the Soviet Union, Britain, France, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Sweden, Italy, Canada, and China (except for the first four named, not necessarily in that order).

Middle East: The Middle East, including the Persian Gulf area, has proven to be a gold mine for U.S. arms salesmen. Richard Viloette, sales negotiations director for the Defense Security Assistance Agency reported to a House subcommittee that U.S. arms sales to the Middle East for fiscal 1974 totaled a staggering $5.9 *billion*. Here, as elsewhere, the U.S. effort is so intense that many European officials have openly complained of the Americans' "all-out, hard-sell tactics."

The largest buyer is Iran which in 1973 purchased $2 billion in U.S. arms. In fiscal 1974, the total reached $3.5 billion. Estimates indicate that within a few yeaars the total purchase of U.S. arms by Iran will reach $9 billion—all in a country where the per capita income is a mere $500 annually.

In an interview with *Newsweek* magazine, the Shah of Iran gave the following inventory of his military hardware: "We have 80 Phantoms which cost about $2.5 million each, and another 100 coming in that will cost $5 million each that will give us a fighter-bomber force of well over 300. We've ordered 700 choppers, including 200 gunships plus 18 large Chinooks and 18 ASW (antisubmarine) Sikorskys . . . We're also buying 800 Chieftain tanks from Britain which will cost us another $480 million and meanwhile we're modernizing 400 M-47 tanks that we have. That will give us a tank force of about 1,700."

With the purchase of the U.S. YF-16 or YF-17 jet fighter as expected, Iran may have the third-largest air force in the world. It is also anticipated that within a few years the country will have the capacity to manufacture an atom bomb.

American companies now represented in Iran are such military manufacturers as Northrop Corporation, Hughes Aircraft Co., Westinghouse, Computer Sciences Corporation, Bell Helicopter, Honeywell Inc., McDonnel-Douglas, General Electric, and Motorola.

Although the U.S. had run a military and police training program in Iran since 1943, its influence was not dominant until 1951. This is the year in which the popular Mohammed Mossadeq became Prime Minister on a platform to nationalize the Iranian oil fields which, at that time, were owned by the British.

When Mossadeq actually seized the refineries, the U.S. took an active role and within two years the CIA organized a military coup which deposed Mossadeq and reinstated the Shah to power. As might be expected, the first act of the Shah was to assign commercial rights of Iran oil to British and American companies. The U.S. government responded with immediate aid which has eventually reached one billion dollars.

With the tremendous increase in oil revenues over past years, the Shah has expended billions for military hardware in an effort to become one of the ten leading military powers; all with little benefit to the majority of the country's 32 million citizens, 70 percent of whom are illiterate. And as is so often the case with countries receiving long-term U.S. aid, Iran is a police state. Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, Shah of Shahs, allows no honest political opposition to exist, and the secret police, named SAVAK, are estimated to number up to 50,000 agents. Amnesty International has estimated that Iranian jails hold some 20,000 political prisoners. Iran has also long been a major base for CIA activities in the Middle East, and it is no coincidence that the current U.S. Ambassador is Richard Helms, former director of the CIA.

The other largest buyers of U.S. weapons in the Middle East are Saudi Arabia and Israel. Military hardware manufactured by U.S. companies now being peddled in this area include a wide range of jet fighter bombers, advance helicopter gunships, tanks and missiles.

Latin America: For decades U.S. Congressional policy toward Latin America prohibited by law the supply of massive weapons anywhere near the amount received by Middle and Far Eastern countries. During this period U.S. policy has centered on methods of counterinsurgency rather than conventional warfare. This included counterinsurgency schools attended by thousands of military and police personnel from throughout Latin America. However, the trend has begun to change over the past few years with the sale of U.S. military hardware increasing over 200 percent from $44.5 million in 1969-70 to $144.5 million in 1971-72.

There is a determined effort by Defense Department officials and the arms industry to force a change in the

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ceiling limit, partially due to a fear of losing the arms market, as in the years between 1969 and 1972 Latin America expended $1.2 billion on European arms while U.S. sales amounted to $335 million. An ally in this quest for change is Nelson Rockefeller whose family has extensive economic holdings in Latin America.

The White House has also supported this move, yet Congress has thus far remained firm. Nevertheless, on at least two occasions in 1971 and 1973, former President Nixon was able to utilize a provision of the Foreign Military Sales Act and waive restrictions which authorized the sale of F-5E supersonic fighters to Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela and Chile. And only recently the Ford Administration announced the U.S. will sell Chile more supersonic aircraft, including 18 additional F-5E fighters manufactured by Northrop, and 30 A-37Bs produced by Cessna. The total cost will exceed $70 million.

This additional sale to Chile falls in line with past U.S. policy toward the Chilean military establishment. During the years when Salvador Allende was President of Chile, the U.S. cut both economic aid and trade; however, military aid continued with millions of dollars going to the same group of generals who conducted the bloody coup. This policy coincided with the $8 million Kissinger-approved CIA program to destroy the democratically elected regime of Allende by subsidizing national strikes. The end result is Chile today: a vast prison in which no form of political freedom is allowed, and where the torture and murder of political prisoners is state policy. Nevertheless, one must assume our government considers the policy a success, as Chile is now reopened to U.S. business interests. In fact President Ford publicly sanctioned the Chile operation during one of his press conferences.

Africa and Asia: On the African continent, the country of South Africa is by far the largest military spender with a defense budget averaging about $300 million annually over past years. Imported weapons reached a peak of $120 million in 1965, with South Africa concentrating on building its own military industry in succeeding years. Most of the African nations receive the majority of their weapons free of charge in the form of military aid from the major powers. All, of course, given in the pursuit of self-interest in both economic and political pursuits.

This is also true for the Asian countries where billions of dollars in military hardware have been channeled into Korea, Taiwan, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. Of the countries in which direct outside intervention did not occur, the largest recipient is Taiwan with $3 billion in U.S. military aid from 1950 to 1969. Direct intervention by the U.S. in Indochina resulted in a massive supply of the most sophisticated weapons. The amount of bombs alone is staggering. From 1965 through 1972, the U.S. dropped nearly 3.5 times the total bomb tonnage dropped in World War II and almost 12 times the Korean War total.

Since the ceasefire was signed in January of 1973, the mammoth supply of weapons has continued to both South Vietnam and Cambodia. And although the U.S. press gives only minor coverage, the war continues to rage at an appalling rate. In the first year of the ceasefire more than 50,000 combat deaths were recorded and an estimated 15,000 civilians killed. This is "peace with honor."

* * *

Early in the Kennedy Administration the U.S. began to shift emphasis from giving weapons away as military aid to outright sales as a means to help counter the increasing deficit in the balance of payments. This change is reflected in the figures which show that in fiscal year 1953 the U.S. gave away $1.9 billion in arms and sold $230 million. By fiscal year 1968 grant aid in weapons had dropped to $466 million while the sale of weapons reached $1.5 billion. Sales over the past five years show another dramatic increase, from $1.4 billion in 1970 to $2.5 billion in 1971, $3.9 billion in 1972, and nearly $5 billion in 1973. The 1973 figure is more than the entire world spent annually on defense in the early 1930s. Total U.S. arms sales for 1974 will exceed $8 billion.

Projections for the immediate years ahead indicate a continuing increase in both the production and sale of weapons. Just a few weeks ago at the 1974 Electronic Industries Association which met in Beverly Hills, California, it was predicted that defense electronics alone will increase 33 percent between 1975 and 1980 to about $16.7 billion. This meeting also forecast a Defense Department budget of $106 billion in 1980, agreeing closely with the $110 billion estimate by the Brookings Institute. In a recent news conference, President Ford confirmed this view by stating that the Pentagon budget will continue to rise over the coming years.

The increase coincides with the continuing escalation of the arms race, the new arms agreement with the USSR notwithstanding. In fact, the new agreement actually sanctions current escalations by allowing such massive long-term weapons programs as the Trident submarine missile system, the B-1 bomber, and full deployment of multiple warheads on over 1300 missiles to proceed as previously scheduled.

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has determined that military spending by the underdeveloped countries is growing at a rate twice that of their economic growth. It should also be understood that of the approximately 60 wars waged since World War II, 95 percent have been fought in the underdeveloped areas of the world—and all with imported weapons.

A damning indictment on our entire system of values is the $250 billion the nations expend every year on weapons and other military programs, while a majority of humanity exists under deplorable conditions of poverty and hunger. Experts estimate that 500 million people

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now suffer from severe malnutrition, with thousands dying each week from hunger in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Further, the role of the United Nations in this area is a sad commentary on the inability of this world organization—as now constituted—to deal effectively with serious political and peacekeeping problems. However, it must be noted that the blame lies with the national governments who have all the representation and power within the UN, and who simply use it to further their own narrow self-interest and national ideologies, and of course the ultimate blame can be placed on the citizens of these nations through their apathy or actual support of current international power politics and the subsequent arms race, exploitation, and balance of terror.

The greatest challenge now facing every concerned person is to enjoin the arms race and to take whatever steps are necessary to transform the United Nations into the representative world institution we must have to achieve disarmament, peace and a coordinated attack on the severe global problems of hunger, environmental depletion, poverty and human exploitation. There is really no alternative other than a disaster beyond our historical comprehension. And one immediate and crucial goal in this country, aside from achieving a dramatic reduction of the Pentagon budget, is to support a move now in Congress to aim at curtailing the flow of U.S. weapons to other countries, beginning with the 1975 Defense Department budget. Such a ban could mark a first step in transforming our own society into one which places life and human values as its first interest and priority.

FOOD FOR THE WORLD

MARTIN M. McLAUGHLIN

A serious, even somber conference in Rome

The World Food Conference, which closed ceremonially in the cavernous marble and glass Palazzo dai Congressi on the outskirts of Rome as midnight approached on November 16, may have been the most widely reported, as well as the most important, international conference in recent times. Nearly 1200 journalists were on hand for the eleven-day event, testifying to the remarkable interest that the problem of world hunger has generated, particularly in the developed world, during the past year.

In general, the Conference was a serious, even somber affair. The 1250 representatives of the 130-odd countries who made up the official delegations, the 150 UN representatives, and the 300 NGO observers were genuinely concerned about the human tragedy which the Conference was designed to prevent in the future and relieve in the present. Assessment and implementation of its results, however, will take time, effort and a review of priorities. In the meantime, at the beginning of this post-Conference period, three fundamental questions need immediate attention: 1) What did the Conference achieve? 2) What needs to be done next? 3) What should be the U.S. role?

1. It is becoming a cliché nowadays to say that an event was a good thing merely because it was held. Yet there are several senses in which that can be said about the World Food Conference. As the first worldwide intergovernmental conference on this problem, it commanded considerable attention on its own. That awareness was accentuated by the visible and dramatic increase of starvation and malnutrition in the "hunger highway" that spans the world along the equator—including parts of Central America, the Sahelian zone of Africa, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and the populous countries of South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh). According to the FAO assessment document prepared for the Conference, nearly half a billion people (460 million) living in those countries are malnourished or facing starvation now. Delegates from those areas spoke poignantly of the human disaster that they have already witnessed and expect to face even more massively in the near future.

Reflecting the observations of the hundreds of reporters present, including American radio and television stations, coverage in this country, especially in those segments of the press that regularly deal with international affairs, was truly phenomenal. As Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of the University of Notre Dame and chairman of the Board of Overseas Development Council, said in a November 22 press conference in Washington, the hungry people of the world—as well as those of us who need to be informed about this human catastrophe—owe a special vote of thanks for the kind of education the press had been doing the last six months, particularly at the World Food Conference.

The educational value was underlined by the work of

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governments and private groups in preparation for the Conference. Once the event was scheduled, a preparatory committee was established, together with a special staff in the UN, headed by Sayed Marei, former Minister of Agriculture of Egypt, who served as Secretary General of the Conference. The Preparatory Committee met three times (in New York, Geneva and Rome), and approved the FAO World Food Assessment and the Action Plan, the two basic documents forming the agenda for the Conference. The Plan's 85 recommendations were consolidated into ten draft resolutions covering food production, food aid and food trade, and presented to the assembled delegates in Rome by Mr. Marei as the Conference opened. All of this preparatory study represents an educational effort by the UN system and by the 130 countries that has further accentuated the interest in and attention paid to the problem of world hunger.

On the substantive side, what makes the Conference important as well is that it achieved very significant results—at least for the medium and long term. There was universal agreement on the urgent necessity to improve agricultural production in the food-deficit countries, since everyone understands that the only long-range solution is to have them move closer to self-sufficiency in food. It is also sensible from an economic point of view, because the incremental cost of increasing yield in those regions is far less than in the developed world. From the overall development point of view, too, even a slight increase in the economic viability of the poor farmer in the countryside (e.g., a doubling of his meager income) would have social and psychological value far in excess of the economic gain.

A world food reserve system was accepted in principle with an agreed ten-million-ton minimum to be replenished annually, and the machinery established to set it in motion; the producing nations were scheduled to meet with the most serious deficit nations on November 29 in Rome as the first follow-up of the Conference. Approval was announced for an increased exchange of agricultural information and an early-warning system, without which no reserve system can work successfully; this will require more open disclosure by the USSR of its stockpiles and crop projections. Finally, machinery was proposed to coordinate ongoing activities and monitor the implementation of these results and the administration of an agricultural development fund—a World Food Council which will work on these matters in close conjunction with the existing UN agencies.

Despite this progress in the longer range, however, the Conference did not meet the crucial, immediate need described in the FAO assessment: the hundreds of millions of people in the hunger belt who must be helped now unless they are to be sacrificed to longer-range emphasis, hardly a humane solution. Notwithstanding the efforts made by many delegates and advisers, no firm pledge of concerted short-run food aid came from the Conference; the heartrending eye-witness accounts of hunger and death moved many to tears, but few to action. Unfortunately for the hopefulness of the long-range plans, their credibility hinges on what is to be done immediately. When the preparations for the Conference began, there were many who feared that it would not address the long-range development problems in whose context the food problem must be solved, but that it might concentrate so heavily on allocating the current relief responsibilities that it would ignore the underlying development thesis. As the world food situation worsened during the intervening months, however, the preparations did not reflect this parallel deterioration; and the shape of the Conference almost entirely reversed itself, so that in the end its concentration was on the more distant future. The long-range proposals will not help the presently starving millions who will not survive to the next harvest.

2. There are a number of next steps that should be undertaken rapidly. The first, of course, is to reach an agreement on food aid and begin shipments to the most severely affected countries to stem already rising death rates; the package should include sales on concessional terms where the recipient countries have the foreign exchange or the income-producing ability to cover some of the costs. But the ultimate determinant of aid has to be need, not the ability to pay; we cannot ration life through the price mechanism. A second step should be to establish the ground rules for the world food reserve and the machinery (World Food Council and auxiliaries) to monitor it; it is hoped that this will not simply produce another slow-moving international bureaucracy. A third step would be for the governments of both donor and recipient countries to make the internal political decisions to enable the immediate provision of food to the starving and the beginning of the essential rural development that should prevent starvation and improve the quality of life in the future.

Accompanying these substantive actions must be the continuation and deepening of the educational process already begun. Through the press and the electronic media the human catastrophe of hunger, starvation and death has gripped the attention of the world. But it is only the beginning of understanding. The problem of world hunger is not academic, but real; it is not remote, but near at hand; it cannot be solved by writing out a check, but demands changes in personal ways of living; it is not in the future only, but painfully in the present; it will not go away, but rather worsen without an immediate commitment. The attention it has received must not be dissipated in a shift to other concerns. In those countries, such as ours, where democratic processes still prevail, the public must not be allowed to lose sight of this drama in which it has so suddenly and forcibly been caught up.

3. This leads us to our third consideration, the role

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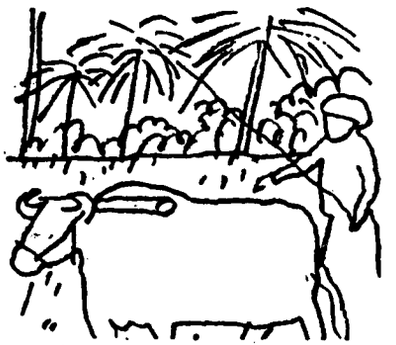
of the United States. It should be remembered that among those who issued the earliest call for the World Food Conference was Secretary of State Kissinger in his first major address to the United Nations General Assembly in September, 1973. This was followed up by an eloquent appeal to the Special UNGA session in April and, most recently and aptly, by the Secretary's address to the Conference itself on November 5. On that occasion he said, among other things: "We meet to address man's most fundamental need . . . No social system, ideology or principle of justice can tolerate a world in which the spiritual and physical potential of hundreds of millions is stunted from elemental hunger or inadequate nutrition . . . A handful of countries, through good fortune and technology, can produce more than they need and thus are able to export . . . President Ford has instructed me to declare on behalf of the United States: We regard our good fortune and strength in the field of food as a global trust . . . The profound promise of our era is that for the first time we may have the technical capacity to free mankind from the scourge of hunger . . . Our responsibility is clear."

One cannot quarrel with these sentiments, though they are hardly revolutionary. In 1963, President Kennedy made a similar comment about eliminating hunger from the face of the earth in our lifetime, and the analysis of the current situation cogently set forth in the Secretary's Rome speech has become almost a commonplace in the past year. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz has added his own brand of analysis and rhetoric at the Conference and since, pointing out that the U.S. has provided $25 billion worth of food aid in the 20 years since PL-480 got into the stature books —84 percent of the world's food aid during the past decade.

What is needed now, however, is not words— however eloquent or historically accurate—but deeds. But when the Congressional members of the Rome delegation prevailed on Secretary Butz to send the White House a telegram asking for an immediate increase of one million tons of food aid (about $175 million) which they could announce in Rome, the President delayed for a week before rejecting the request. Without a major U.S. food aid commitment, it is very doubtful that a significant move toward immediate relief will be made; and without such a move, the plans for the future lose credibility. The leadership the world looked to this country for at Rome was not forthcoming. We were eloquently affirmative on those issues, such as production increases and information exchange, which require action or collaboration by others—the Congress, the USSR, the EEC, the international financial institutions, OPEC countries, or the developing countries themselves. But on others, on which the Administration could act without waiting for others (the President does not need an appropriation for food aid) or in which our national economic interest seemed threatened, as on trade (which we insisted should be discussed in other forums, like GATT, in the absence of most of the more clamorous countries) we dragged our feet. In contrast to the World Population Conference in Bucharest, where we pushed for specific quantitative targets for reducing the LDC population growth rate, the U.S. delegation at Rome rejected all quantitative targets for nutrition programs, fertilizer set aside, emergency relief and food aid. We did not live up to Secretary Kissinger's words about a "global trust" and a clear responsibility, and we thus undermined the value of our more affirmative stands on other issues.

Among the several questions with which those who assert the responsibility of the United States to take the lead in relieving world hunger are often faced, one of the most common is: Why is it our problem? Let these people breed less, complain less, beg less and work more so that they can earn their food. One might point out that hunger and hopelessness do more to increase population growth than food and work, that those who are malnourished and starving do not have the energy



to work, and that those who see no future have no incentive. These circumstances are no more their fault than the benevolence of nature in this country, for which many of us have recently given thanks by eating more at one meal than they will consume in a week, is ours.

But beyond all that, it is our problem for other reasons: U.S. policies in the past few years have unintentionally accentuated world hunger. We deliberately eliminated our carryover stocks and held land out of production in the face of increasing signs of food shortage and the destabilizing of cereal prices. We sold a quarter of the wheat crop in 1972 to the Soviet Union and contemplated selling another four million tons this year to be fed largely to animals. We have encouraged beef consumption in developing countries, certainly the least efficient way to obtain needed protein. We have resisted trade adjustments that would help agricultural production in the developing world. We have used food as a political weapon, the best "tool in the kit of American diplomacy," as Secretary Butz said several times at Rome. We cannot, of course, directly affect weather or

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the family-size decisions of people in these countries. But we can affect our own consumption habits, which are putting a greater incremental strain (at lease one-third) on the world's food supply than any other single factor. We waste, we overconsume (except in our own poverty sectors) and we boast about it. We put 15 percent of our food in the garbage, consume 35 percent of the world's resources (with 6 percent of its population) discard millions of tons of glass, paper and metal containers, drive gas-guzzling automobiles, squander 15 percent of our fertilizer in ornamental uses, and in the past decade have added the equivalent of the entire diet of an Indian to our individual food consumption. Perhaps the Chinese are right in saying, as is reported, that the world may not be able to afford a United States.

All this is said not in condemnation of the United States, but to appeal to our collective conscience. Without the American farmer's fantastic productivity we could not even discuss the possibility of averting world famine; without American technology we could not envision the kind of improvement of developing-country agriculture that the World Food Conference calls for. Without the American consumer the incentive for both agricultural productivity and technological advance would not be present. But there is a limit to the satisfaction of the consumers' wants and the producers' profit drive. That limit is the requirement of justice, a just world order, a just distribution of the fruits of God's creation. Behind the rhetoric of the delegates of 130 nations assembled in Rome that is what the World Food Conference was about.

The Conference was a beginning, not an end. Moreover, it was a conference not about an abstraction called hunger, but about the concrete reality of hungry people. Unless the immediate follow-up is action on this human problem that faces the world now, the conference's plans for the future will turn to ashes, the effort will have been a costly failure, and we will have dependence without end. If, however, the future vision can be accompanied by an urgent sense of moral responsibility and underscored by an immediate food-aid program for these people as the basic prerequisite of a total onslaught on this age-old scourge, the Rome Conference may be judged a historic turning point in establishing a new and orderly system in its realm of food policy and action that will endure for generations.

Affirmative American participation is essential for such a result. We have to act now: no more grain is going to become available here this year, there is no harvest in the less developed countries until late spring, and every passing day sees more grain committed to commercial purchasers. However much we say about how others must share the responsibility, we remain the breadbasket of the world—and will be such for some time to come. To whom much has been given much will be required. We should not fail the global trust of which Secretary Kissinger spoke. What is needed is decisive leadership by President Ford, listening more to his conscience and his compassion than to his inflation-blinded economic advisers, and a continuing campaign of public education on this issue, capitalizing on the reporting already done, to assure the President of the support of the American people. There is much evidence that a citizenry tired of Vietnam and Watergate would respond to an appeal for a positive effort—almost a moral crusade—and it would be in the finest, most generous American tradition.

PILLOW TALK

THE SCREEN

At one point during Ingmar Bergman's *Scenes from a Marriage,* the emotional state of the audience at the film, and the very theater where I was watching it, unexpectedly came into my mind. I realized that the room was full of couples who were clinging to each other for dear life. Like people that had suddenly found themselves going over rapids in a flimsy boat, we were all hanging onto each other with a startled mixture of exhilaration and dread. One felt as if the whole theater were going over these rapids, and might shake apart at any moment from the sheer force of what we saw before us on the screen. It was a grueling experience, watching that film, though in the end one felt somehow glad to be alive—not in the sense of being full of optimism, certainly, but just in the sense of being glad to have survived the experience. As we left the theater I think there was a momentary feeling of camaraderie among us, as if we had just been rescued after spending our three hours together circling on a disabled airliner or trapped in a mine on the verge of cave-in.

I suspect that the original Swedish title of the film was something other than *Scenes from a Marriage,* which seems intended partly as an apology for the fragmentary state in which we are seeing the work. Originally shot for television as six one-hour episodes, the film has here been edited down, by Bergman himself, to a long feature film. But the English-language title is good nonetheless because of the pun on "scenes." The film is on the one hand little more than some dramatic scenes. It is only a rough working up of an idea for a play in the same way that life itself is just an improvisation on an idea which would need much more refinement and polish to succeed on the stage. On the other hand, the film also presents scenes in the emotional sense—in the sense of "having a scene"—and in this regard it is a completely coherent, self-contained, finished event.

All that happens in the film, really, is talk. It is a

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lot like scenes from a stage play in this respect, and we are reminded that Bergman is, besides a film director, a director of the Royal Theater in Stockholm. The opening scene from this marriage is an interview which a magazine feature writer is conducting with an ideal husband and wife, Johan (Erland Josephson) and Marianne (Liv Ullman). The closing scene is an assignation which the same couple has "in a dark house in the middle of the night" seven years after their divorce. In the latter scene Marianne wakes up jibbering from a bad dream, and Johan comforts her until she is calm enough to go back to sleep. "Thanks for the talk," she says—it is her last line in the film—and the remark is indeed a fitting conclusion for the movie we have seen.

Between these first and last scenes the film rehearses for us every language of love conceivable, every variety of talk about human emotions. Shortly after the initial interview Marianne congratulates herself because, unlike friends who have just had a row in their presence, she and Johan "speak the same language." But within a few scenes it is apparent that they do not speak the same language, and each is going to have great difficulty learning the language that the other does speak. For instance, he is a psychologist by profession while she is a lawyer. When they are reunited for the first time after he has broken up their marriage by deserting her, she reads him passages of free association from a diary she now keeps at the suggestion of a therapist she is seeing. It is as if she has been trying to talk about herself in a way he will understand. Contrarily, some scenes later when she brings him the divorce papers she has drawn up, he pores over them as if he now feels the need to fathom her native language as well.

Neither of them succeeds in getting through to the other in these scenes. The lines of communication remain crossed, snarled, for he falls asleep while she is reading him the diary, and she becomes impatient and hostile when he begins studying the divorce agreement. Yet there is a profound difference in the experience each is undergoing in these two scenes because it is apparent that only one of them is truly at a loss for words: Johan. All the words that are used come, after all, from her. She is the one who wrote the diary and the one who drafted the divorce settlement; and where his response in the first scene is to go to sleep, to fall silent, her response in the second is to become more articulate—to tell him for the first time precisely how she feels about him.

Indeed, one way to think about this entire movie is as a drama in which a woman finds her tongue while her husband is losing his. In that interview with which the film opens, Johan does almost all the talking. He is cocky and boastful, and the assumption underlying his banter with the interviewer is that he can speak for both himself and Marianne. When she finally pipes up, her remarks are far more hesitant, tentative and uncertain than his. But soon Johan's way of talking begins to lose its effectiveness. Among the sorts of emotional language that the film deals with is poetry. Johan has at one point shown some poems he wrote to a colleague for approval. But the colleague cannot help expressing the galling opinion that his poems are only mediocre, and the incident is typical of the fate that Johan's efforts at self-assertion suffer. By the end of the film it is Marianne who is doing the talking. While he was spokesman during the interview at the beginning, she is having her say at the end. As she strives to put into words that bad dream she has had, Johan for once sits thoughtfully, quietly, listening to her.

In large measure the impact that *Scenes from a Marriage* has had on its audience results from the role that Marianne plays in the film. Although it is originally Johan who wants to leave her, the film is much more the story of her struggle to be free of him. If these "scenes" have any structure, any overall development as a drama, that struggle is it. The film becomes the chronicle of her liberation from him, with all the connotations of sexual politics that the term liberation implies.

Bergman provides almost no social context for the drama we see here. In this feature-length version of the work, we not only see Johan and Marianne aside from whatever social institutions and background have influenced them, but without the presence of their own children, parents or lovers. They are in our view of them almost entirely isolated and alone. Yet I think we all feel as we watch the film that Bergman has made of it a very powerful social document. He has caught the essence of a central drama of our time. We sense in the film some shaking of the foundations which we have been feeling in our own lives lately, and as a consequence we identify very strongly with the characters whether we want to or not. This is what makes *Scenes from a Marriage* such a distressing, exciting, exhausting experience to sit through. This shock of recognition that we have with the film is what makes it seem so much more intense than a mere movie usually does.

(*The first of two parts*)

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

AN APPEAL—In rural Kerala, South India, a peasant's cooperative seeks to expand the productivity and self-support of some thousand Panchayath families. The director, Father V. Chathaparampil, has begun by distributing grass roots so that these families can grow their fodder around their own houses. He needs funds for cattle, insemination and the services of a veterinary and an agricultural graduate for a year. Most of these people have an acre of land, and the goal is a cow for every family. Total needed is $4,000. Mrs. Ludlow Kravis, 8 Waterway, Manhasset, N.Y. 11030, has agreed to collect and forward all funds designated FOOD PRODUCTION CAMPAIGN.

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THE ROLE OF THE ECONOMIST

RICHARD B. DU BOFF AND EDWARD S. HERMAN

The New Economics One Decade Older

JAMES TOBIN

Princeton University Press, $6.50

This set of lectures treats the rise and decline of the New Economics in the 1960s, the post-1965 attacks on that doctrine and its practitioners, and current problems in economic stabilization policy. Since Tobin is an able economist, there are illuminating moments, particularly in his critique of the Milton Friedman school of monetarism and his discussion of various policy options; but, on balance, this is a disappointing book. Tobin's defense of the New Economics, especially against the "cross-fire from the left," is both petulant and question-begging, and in general Tobin fares badly when he ventures forth from his bastion of technical expertise into the sociopolitical sphere. In discussing the reasons for high U.S. military expenditures, for example, Tobin devotes two pages to a chart showing such expenditures fluctuating in relation to "major crises in international relations since 1945," and he suggests that "a naive explanation in terms of [U.S.] responses to world events fits the facts very well" (p. 44). Tobin never asks why the United States was compelled to "respond" to these events. More fundamentally, it seems not to have occurred to him that "world events" may reflect prior policy decisions, and may even be deliberately manufactured as part of the policymaking process—e.g., he includes the "Gulf of Tonkin incident" as an external event "explaining" military outlays! Tobin shows no awareness that there is an issue of cause and effect here, and that there is a literature that could be examined to shed light on this matter. His correlation is so silly, and Tobin himself so intelligent, that we must assume that he is still unable to free himself from the Cold War premise that the United States is only a passive agent, not an active force pursuing its own interests. In his entire discussion of the military budget, in fact, Tobin never once mentions that our nation has vast, and growing, interests abroad and that, as Presidential Council on International Economic Policy chairman Peter Flanigan put it in March 1973, "there are close ties between our political and military relationships and our economic dealings abroad."

In criticizing "Neo-Marxist" analyses of military spending, Tobin not only ignores some important strands of radical thought (such as the emphasis on our heavy external interests), his method is to take a number of discrete hypotheses, caricature them, and then attempt to refute each in turn without relation to the others. Thus, since at times "we do observe cutbacks in defense spending," it is concluded that the alleged power of the military-industrial complex is overrated (although Tobin does attribute "some billions of dollars" to its influence). Prosperity after 1945 did not require *all* that much defense spending, so the notion that capitalism requires military outlays may be dismissed without further analysis. An imperfect correlation for each critical hypothesis taken in isolation brings a sarcastic rejection of each, whereas Tobin's own "naive" model is asserted without discussion.

Tobin's historical account of the 1960s contains parallel distortions. He begins by dating the "triumph" of the New Economics from JFK's Presidency through 1965, to which he credits a 31 percent growth of real output, creation of 6.8 million new jobs, and a lowering of unemployment "virtually" to 4 percent. All of this Tobin attributes to the "great tax cut." Our calculations for the period of 1960 to 1965, however (from the latest *Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers*), which give Tobin *more* than the benefit of the doubt (especially since 1960 was a recession year), show that real GNP rose 27 percent and only 5.3 million new jobs were created. Furthermore, the "great tax cut" was not even enacted until February 1964, and its effects would have taken another two or three years to be fully realized. Imagine what a roasting Tobin would administer to a "Marxist" who played so fast and loose with facts and statistics! Imagine, too, how Tobin would treat a radical who dealt with any topic so elusively as Tobin himself deals with the U.S. unemployment record in the postwar period: through all the discussion of the achievements of the New Economics in solving the problem of unemployment no mention is made of the fact that in January 1962—when Tobin himself was a member of the Council of Economic Advisers—the Kennedy Administration redefined "full employment," as prevailing if 4 percent of the total labor force was unemployed rather than 2 percent. Nor would anyone realize that since the end of the postwar boom in 1948, *only* large injections of military spending for the Korean and Vietnam wars have been able to push officially measured unemployment below the 4 percent mark, in 1951-53 and 1966-69.

A much more plausible explanation for the 1960-1965 economic advance, we would suggest, is military spending, which (as the reader might by now anticipate) goes wholly unmentioned in Tobin's account of the "triumph" through 1965. One could hardly guess from this history that upon taking of-

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fice President Kennedy immediately hiked Eisenhower's final Pentagon budget by 6% and that overall, on conservative estimate, military outlays increased by 15% from 1960 through 1962. Tobin later asserts that "through July 1965, perhaps longer, defense was not supporting the [economy's] recovery." His clincher, that "defense spending actually declined in the years 1962-65," is disingenuous: *reported* Pentagon expenditures rose from $44.9 billion in 1960 to $51.6 billion in 1962, after which they leveled off to a 1963-65 average of $50.3 billion annually. The statement that military outlays were not aiding recovery until mid-1965 or after is indefensible. Johnson began bombing North Vietnam in February 1965, war contracts were being let in late 1964 and early 1965, and the stimulative expectations of military escalation were already being felt. From mid-1965, of course, military spending took off and climbed past the $74 billion mark by 1970. Tobin correctly points out that federal nondefense purchases rose faster than defense outlays from 1961 to 1965—$5.2 billion as opposed to a reported $2.3 billion—but he neglects mentioning that in 1965 the level of Pentagon spending was still triple that of civilian spending ($50.1 billion versus $16.8). And his statement that "subsequent increases from 1965 to 1971 in federal civilian outlays were even more substantial: $9.4 billion" is made without any mention of the fact that during the same period military spending rose by $21.5 billion! (The possibility that part of the civilian increase was derivative, necessary to placate labor and some minority group leaders and allow Johnson to pursue his main business—military victory in Vietnam—would hardly enter Tobin's mind.) By 1971 the federal government was spending a reported $71.6 billion per year on the military and $26.5 billion on the civilian public sector.

In sum, military outlays played a critical role in the JFK-LBJ economic "boom," and Tobin's attempt to downplay their importance is at best unconvincing. The same can be said of his efforts to dismiss the employment and income impact of high military budgets throughout the postwar period. Perhaps even less convincing is the final tribute heaped upon the New Economics—that the serious problems that faced us in 1957-60, "stagnation, unemployment, and frequent recession," have been "substantially solved."

Tobin is understandably defensive on the role of the New Economists in the Vietnam war. Not a single one displayed the moral courage of a J. F. terHorst, despite far more severe provocations. Tobin contends that the position of the New Economists should be regarded as strictly a matter of "personal commitments and beliefs" and that it is not clear that "any national interest" would have been served by their dissociation from government. But Tobin does not mention the vigorous, positive support given the war by many of the New Economists—the "guns *and* butter" sales pitch of Walter Heller and his successors on the CEA, their willingness actively to mislead Congress and the public on the economic effects of the war, and their backing of the 1968 income surtax whose *only* purpose was to finance further military escalation in Vietnam. It is also interesting to see Tobin confine himself to "any *national* interest" as the sole criterion for determining an appropriate personal stance—the vaunted "internationalism" of economists sometimes looks thin indeed! We would also contend that deliberate mass murder on the scale of the Vietnam war left no more room for doubt on the morality of high level government participation than would helping improve the efficiency of the German regime in 1944. This no doubt involves a "judgment" on both the nature of the Vietnam holocaust and the importance and worth of the faceless Indochinese victims of the American juggernaut, but the evidence of large scale and systematic criminal behavior was as public even in 1965 as the facts about the crematoria.

Tobin defends the New Economists' silence on Vietnam, their unadulterated growthmanship through the 1960s, and their tardy interest in matters of the environment and income distribution in terms of the political constraints on policy advice. He wholly neglects the educational and opinion-shaping role of economists and other intellectuals. The solution of our basic economic problems is going to require a new awareness of relationships and possibilities of change along with a significant shift in values by mainstream America. Economists can play a modest role in this process. If they behave as the New Economists have, however, advising their powerful superiors within the constraints of what the latter will find agreeable, and prepared to serve big business and the state on any set of policy premises, little of long-term constructive value will be contributed by the profession.

Something Happened

JOSEPH HELLER

Knopf, $10

IRVING MALIN

Bob Slocum, the narrator of Joseph Heller's new novel, is obsessed by doors. He tells us in his very first words: "I get the willies when I see closed doors." Although he fears entrapment, he finds strange comfort in his claustrophobia. The doors, at least, are definite; it is what lies behind the doors which really terrifies him: "Even at work, where I am doing so well now, the sight of a closed door is sometimes enough to make me dread that something horrible is happening behind it, something that is going to affect me adversely. . . ."

Slocum associates doors with work. He does not know what others are doing or saying behind them. But he also sees doors at home; although he would prefer to remain in his study, he is shocked to find his family—his wife and two children—wanting to enter.

Slocum is not an ordinary neurotic. (Who is?) He tends to be a symbolist. He makes doors metaphysical entities. He is confined to his decaying body; he does not know what lies outside it,

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what awaits him in some *outer* world.

Slocum is so obsessed by doors that he tends to regard others as shadows behind frosted glass. He cannot really allow them to be fully seen. He has to keep them hidden. Thus when his wife and children try to appear as *persons*—with ambivalent motives and needs—he retreats into his mental office. He shuts doors on them.

How did he get this way? Slocum continually asks himself the question. But he does not know *what happened.* He may think that it's his father's suicide or his incomplete flirtation with Virginia (when he was 17-years-old). He does not pursue the thought; he plays with causes only to dismiss them, like his family, as shadows. It is ironic, therefore, that Slocum returns again and again—the novel circles compulsively—to the "scene of the crime." He does not want to perceive clearly; he wants another pane of glass to distort the past.

Slocum is always filing things. He makes Happiness Charts: "Nobody in the company has yet been killed in an airplane crash, and this is highly mysterious to me, for we travel a lot by air to visit other offices or call on customers, prospects, and suppliers in other cities and countries." He is excited by details. Nevertheless, he shrewdly understands that plans, charts, and files contain, like distorting glass doors, the outlines of life.

Slocum is an *outline himself.* He stands at times outside of his activities; he perceives his perceptions. He is no longer himself: "I miss my mother again when I remember how poignantly I missed her when I woke this morning. I miss the forsaken child. He's me. But I'm not he. I think he may be hiding inside my head with all the others I know are there and cannot find, playing evil tricks on my moods and heartbeat also. I have a universe in my head." Slocum is "suspended"; he does not understand where he begins or ends. *He fears measuring his universe's limits*; he refuses to go through doors by suicide.

"Suicide." The word haunts him. Is it because his father killed himself? Would he like to become his father? Does he dare to defend himself? Such questions trouble Slocum. He does not have the will to answer them once and for all. He prefers instead to say one thing—choose one role—and then another. He multiplies questions and metamorphoses; he won't stay put. He lacks the will to commit himself. Although we admire his crafty transformations, we also note, as he secretly does, his mad passivity. He kills himself every day.

Perhaps Slocum fears homosexuality because it symbolizes one commitment which he refuses to make. He dreams about sex constantly; at the same time, he laughs at it. He hates women (the mother!). If he could only control their *changes*, he would be happy. But he cannot control his disturbing fears of sodomy. He does not like strangers in back of doors, in back of him: "I am infiltrated and besieged, the unprotected target of sneaky attacks from within. Things stir, roll over slowly in my mind like black eels, and drop from consciousness into inky depths. . . . I am infested with ghostlike figurines (now you see them, now you don't), with imps and little demons. They scratch and stick me."

Obviously, Slocum is a "maladjusted" man, but he perfectly adapts himself to other disturbed men. He is the organization man. He recognizes other workers as his reflections. He knows what to say, what to wear, what doors to open and close. And it is the final irony that Slocum, who seems so uncontrolled, finally "gains command."

I find that I have been so seduced by Slocum's personality that I have not bothered with his voice. His style perfectly reflects his concerns. He speaks in a flat, repetitive, charted way: "In the office in which I work there are five people of whom I am afraid. Each of these five people is afraid of four people (excluding overlaps), for a total of twenty, and each of these twenty people is afraid of six people, making a total of one hundred and twenty people who are feared by at least one person." He chooses his words with care. (He tells us at one point that he is one of the few people who know what "lurid" really means.) He is, however, so controlled in his speech that he forgets—or, better yet, neglects—the content. "Person," for example, is just another word.

Slocum fears "letting go." Yet as the book *progresses*—can we even say that it does?—he allows the imps to jump out of the sentences. He hasn't the will to kill them. He speaks imagistically; he recounts nightmares. He even *babbles* (to himself). He uses such words as "spirits" and "apparitions." He is invaded by dark forces who alter his controlled speech.

Slocum manages, however, to stand his ground. He ends his narrative in command, knowing that his "victory" is merely another sentence of death. He is, finally, *something* that happened.

I will not easily forget Slocum and his doors.

A Theology of the Old Testament

JOHN L. MCKENZIE

Doubleday, $7.95

ROLAND E. MURPHY

One always learns much from the writings of Father McKenzie, who is presently professor of Old Testament at DePaul University. He has pondered vigorously and independently upon biblical data and he never fails to express himself in a felicitous prose style. Those who have read his earlier works will recognize the same attractive qualities here.

He sees Old Testament theology as the analysis of an experience (a collective experience of about a thousand years of history and literature) through the study of the appropriate written records. He underscores the fact that a basic personal reality, not a system, emerges from the Old Testament. The Israelite experience of Yahweh is put into their "God-talk" or theology, and the theologian of the Old Testament is directed to the "totality of the utterances." Paradoxically, this totality is something that no Old Testament writer experienced, but it is synthesized in the

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logical discourse which is "biblical theology."

Seven categories are suggested as the ways in which Israel experienced Yahweh, and these form the chapter headings: cult, revelation, history, nature, wisdom, political and social institutions, the future of Israel. These are convenient, if not compelling categories around which to organize the abundant material.

The treatment of the cult provides more or less the data supplied in McKenzie's earlier *Dictionary of the Bible*. "Revelation" is interesting, although there is no dialogue with J. Barr concerning the validity of this category, and it ends with an introductory thumbnail sketch of each prophet. History and nature are surely areas where Israel experienced the Lord, and here the exposition picks up in pungency and implications. The chapter on wisdom (Proverbs; Ben Sira is barely adverted to) and critical wisdom (Job and Ecclesiastes), or "anti-wisdom." The reviewer is unhappy with the category of "anti-wisdom." It fails to assess the wisdom movement in Israel as a multifaceted affair, a growth. The development of "anti-wisdom" is possible precisely in terms of the problems that confront wisdom; it is part of wisdom. Even Qohelet, that representative of "anti-wisdom," admitted: "I said, 'I will acquire'; but it was beyond me. What exists is far-reaching; it is deep, very deep: who can find it out?" (Eccles. 7:23-24). Unfortunately, no notice is taken of G. von Rad's important study of 1970, *Wisdom in Israel*. The final chapter on "the future of Israel" incorporates many of the insights offered by the author in previous writings. It is perhaps even more minimalist and critical (rightly so, in the reviewer's opinion) of Old Testament messianism. Yet there are statements that need nuancing, such as the claim that "there is no messianism in the New Testament which is derived from the Old Testament" (p. 267). The infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke, no matter what their historical character, would seem to contradict this, from a theological point of view. The reviewer is as little impressed with this strain of thought as the author is, but it is present.

In the epilogue the author takes issue with Brevard Childs of Yale, whose *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (1970) appeared apparently too late to be used in this work. McKenzie's claim is to have written an Old Testament theology "as if the New Testament did not exist" (p. 319). Childs' concern is biblical theology—the theology of the *entire* Bible, both Testaments, analyzed from an unabashed Christian viewpoint. This proceeds from a faith position and its validity is then to be tested by its methodology, whether it is an honest assessment of meaning and dialectic between the two Testaments. There is room for both approaches, McKenzie's and Childs'. McKenzie indicates that he would not share Childs' views about continuities between the two Testaments: "the unity which exists in continuity does not exist and cannot be shown" (p. 323). But neither does a study of Old Testament theology (conceived, as this book properly is, on the level of historical criticism) provide adequate perspective for analyzing the roles of (and even the definitions of) unity and discontinuity in biblical theology.

Fr. McKenzie disclaims any attempt to write an Old Testament theology on the scale of W. Eichrodt or G. von Rad (p. 9). One may express regret over this, since there is no one on the American scene more gifted and more able than he to offer an interesting challenge and option in this area. But if he has not chosen to do this, he has clearly and ably summarized his views on Old Testament theology in the volume under review.

REVIEWERS

RICHARD DUBOFF is a professor of economics at Bryn Mawr.

EDWARD S. HERMAN teaches in the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

IRVING MALIN teaches at CCNY. He is the co-editor of *The Achievement of William Styron* (Georgia U. Press).

FATHER ROLAND E. MURPHY, O. CARM., teaches in the Divinity School at Duke University.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 251)

looking into the visible works of God, including themselves, find the guidance they need for the creation of the good society and the good life on earth" (page 127). (Should anyone care, my personal assessment of the relationship of Christian belief to the human future will be set forth in the December issue of the Lutheran journal *Dialog*.)

I had expected some reviewers to nail me for my traditionalist natural law heresies (indeed, one sociologist who termed the book "brilliant," denounced this section as "naive metaphysical theology"). But for a supposed historian, writing in a traditionally Catholic journal, not to be able to relate to what I was saying only illustrates the fact that the future is dark indeed and it is not the allegedly totalitarian villains like myself who are making it so.

VICTOR FERKISS

Reply

Pittsburgh, Pa.

To the Editors: I am willing to agree that Mr. Ferkiss is not an atheist, but I stand by my reading of his work: God has no place *in* his world. The God in whom Mr. Ferkiss believes is a creator who then departed and left men to work out their own destinies unhampered by further manifestations of His power or by reminders that only He, in time's fullness, can perfect all things. Mr. Ferkiss believes in a God well known to historians of ideas, the God who withdraws as men then set about engineering their own salvation.

I can show the spirit which pervades Mr. Ferkiss' work by quoting more fully the two passages from which came phrases linked by me:

1. "This new world culture, despite its varied traditional components, will end the dichotomy between science and humanism, mind and body, matter and spirit, East and West, tradition and

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modernity. In so doing it will help heal the split between man and nature, humanity and earth. In the words of one utopian theorist, 'the real world is itself transcendent, when it is seen integrally, as a holistic and dynamic system.' Piety toward planet Earth will thus simultaneously promote consciousness of the community between man and nature and consciousness of the transnational community among men." (283)

2. "Human beings are the highest form of life the earth has produced, but they hold their mother planet not as property in the liberal sense, but in trust to the cosmos, in stewardship for human generations to come and for the forces of life which some call God." (241)

Only a few lines below the passage which Mr. Ferkiss thinks expresses best his idea of the tie of theology to politics, he writes: "Instead of struggling with the traditional problem of how an omnipotent and good God could permit suffering and death, we have to ask how nature defined as good could permit these things." (127)

Man, man, man—man alone in the natural world—can and will save himself. Holding that God exists when one is so utterly committed to human perfectibility becomes, by comparison, an interesting but not very important belief. RICHARD L. SCHOENWALD

N.A.L.-'R.I.P.'

San Jose, Calif.

To the Editors: And so, the National Association of Laity is gone [Nov. 1]. I grew up with NAL, along with the *National Catholic Reporter* and *Commonweal*. I had just started college when NAL began.

I remember well those heady days back at the beginning in Minneapolis . . . the great debate with Charles Davis in Chicago . . . the convention at Cleveland. I remember Denny Landis, the key person—I believe—in NAL those first years.

But so many of those involved in the genesis of NAL moved on to other things. Some went to the anti-war

Cristina found a friend

One who is helping her survive

Cristina Aguilar's case is typical.

Her father works long hours as a sharecropper despite a chronic pulmonary condition that saps his strength. Her mother takes in washing whenever she can. Until recently, the total income of this family of six was about $13.00 a month. Small wonder that they were forced to subsist on a diet of unpolished rice, swamp cabbage, and tiny fish the children seine from a nearby river.

Now Cristina enjoys the support of a Foster Parent in Tennessee whose contribution of sixteen dollars a month assures Cristina and her entire family of better food and health care. And, when Cristina is old enough, the help of her Foster Parent will give her a chance for an education, an opportunity to realize whatever potential she has to offer to this world.

How can such a small monthly contribution do so much in the life of Cristina's family? In the underdeveloped countries where Foster Parents Plan is at work, the need is so great, the poverty so deep, that very few dollars can make a tremendous difference. In fact, with PLAN programs and services in place, the very communities where Foster Children live are aided toward self-improvement.

To become a Foster Parent is a special responsibility . . . and a most rewarding one. You become an influence in shaping the life of your Foster Child. You come to know the child through photos and a regular exchange of letters. Progress reports show you vividly how much good your contribution is doing. Of the many fine causes that ask for your support, few can offer you such a tangible and immediate way to help others.

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I am ready now to become a Foster Parent to a boy ☐ girl ☐ age ____
country _____ or whoever you feel needs me most ☐.
Please send a photo and case history of the Foster Child. Enclosed is my first contribution ☐ $16 monthly, ☐ $48 quarterly, ☐ $192 annually.
I can't become a Foster Parent now. I enclose a gift of $_____.

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movement. Others got involved in public education. And what once was has slipped away.

If there is a legacy for NAL it should be remembered for its days as a critic rigorously examining church stands on issues of war and peace, race and class, life and death.

There is still a need for an independent religious voice expressed through some sort of organization like NAL and I have no doubt one will rise up.

Still, I can't help feeling an old friend has died. I knew it was coming, but it took Jim Castelli's article to bring the reality home.

TOM GILSENAN

Baltimore, Md.

To the Editors: Jim Castelli's article in your November 1st issue on the NAL was a breath of clean air. It was good to read him, to see in print the truth about the National Association of Laity.

Being a member of this organization for seven years, and an active participant in the annual meetings, I found that Jim's words echoed my thoughts and my hopes for honest reporting. His views on the three models set forth were interesting and enlightening; and the last paragraph stating, "the American hierarchy has shown some healthy trends," certainly backs up my repeatedly forceful statements to some members of NAL who hate all members of the hierarchy.

For the past year and a half I served on the Board of Directors of the NAL, and found that because of the lack of imagination and more specifically the lack of effective leadership, we were going downhill. We cannot continue to send "hate mail"—there are other avenues to explore. We must listen and discuss matters with leaders such as Bishop Dozier, Eugene Bianchi, and Jack Yorke.

It is true. If the NAL is to resurrect, it must work along with these healthy trends—not against them.

KATHLEEN BAMBECK (MS.)

Bloomsburg, Pa.

To the Editors: NAWR's president, S. Fisher, put it very well ["Correspondence", 1 Nov.]: "There's a danger in bringing one's own agenda to some one else's convention. . . ." How applicable to your report on the 1974 Convention of the National Association of Laity (NAL) 1 Nov. 1974!

Mr. Castelli (ex-*NCR*, now *NC*) can't cram NAL's aims and programs into his "models" without producing a "non-report" permeated with fantasy, distortions and non-facts.

For example, Dozier was not the "first" bishop to address NAL; he didn't present and NAL never studied any "Dozier model." (Happily a year after addressing NAL, his Grace set up a diocesan pastoral council in Memphis.)

And New Jersey is not the only local "listed"; in fact Detroit and Oklahoma gave NAL more money; and Phila., Worcester, Detroit and D.C., better membership lists. But NJ did press its law suit against the archdiocese and set up the orphanage the diocese tried to liquidate. And it produced for NAL one of its major studies of the year, i.e., on confession and first communion. *NCR* reported it, yet your *NCR/NC* reporter says: "no reports or critiques in the past year." Why go on!

Allow me to take this chance to thank all those NAL'ers and others who helped investigate, analyze, issue reports and act this year on so many matters: closed NJ/Pa. episcopal regional meetings; NY/Brooklyn episcopal attack on "Intro-2"; oustings of Fitzgerald (Boston Univ.) and Ryan (Georgetown Univ.); attempt to manipulate D. C. Black Secretariat; the Farah affair; 11 women priests; the Morreale baptism; the Jesuit "secret trial" of O'Rourke; the ever recurring financial scandals, such as Reno, La-Salettes, Paulines, *et al.*

But let's be fair; Castelli now corrects some earlier errors. In *NCR* last year he reported "about a hundred" came to the NAL Convention; now in *Commonweal* he writes "more than 200." (Precisely 213 registered. Why didn't your reporter ask in 1973?)

Since 1968 NAL's devised various tactics to open all church finances. In 1970 it published the first survey of dioceses' financial statements. In 1970 Castelli called it in *NCR*: "NAL: Too Little Too Late." His new superior at *NC* labeled it "mickey-mouse." Now converted, Castelli calls these surveys (*Commonweal*): "important reports on church finances." But must it take 4 years for any reporter in the Ameri-

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Theology

Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., Louis Bouyer and Dr. Paul Minear are three of the visiting professors for the Spring Term, 1975, Department of Theology, Catholic University, Washington, D.C. Contact: Fr. James Coriden, Department of Theology, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C. 20064.

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In the Life in Christ ad for "Philemon's Problem" in the November 15 Commonweal, through a typographical error, the author's name was misspelled. The author is James Burtchaell, Provost of Notre Dame University.

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can culture to see why prelates should report openly all the funds they hold "in trust"?

Mr. Castelli now admits he's wanted to bury NAL at least since 1972, date of NAL's second report on bishops' finances and four studies on abortion. But both *NCR* and *NC* have tried to downplay NAL's "open finances" project since 1970.

The U.S. Catholic community has reacted quite differently. Polls indicate NAL has been in tune with it. Sometimes, been led. But it had reflected the Catholic community. Acting as a spokesman, NAL, through its efforts—unique in some areas—has been responsible in part for those few "healthier trends" Castelli professes to see in "the American hierarchy."

NAL will go on gadflying, welcoming new ideas, new members, donors and collaborators and particularly constructive suggestions on how to do a better job of it. Its efficacy Castelli admits: "These [NAL] reports were cursed, attacked . . . and listened to by Church officials." NAL has survived the cursing, "mickey mouse" à la *NC*, and will go on despite "burying" à la Castelli or other similar attempts magically to exorcise the gadfly and all its works.

NAL's 1974 convention added new board members from Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Phila., Athens (Ga.) and Washington and signalled new emphases: minimum internal reforms required of an NCCB talking "justice and peace"; open "secret" trials (e.g. Catholic intellectuals like Küng, Pfuertner, D'Avack, O'Rourke, Fitzgerald); curbing the "church in politics"; slow U.S. destabilizing democracy abroad; work closely with UFW and Black Catholics; end discrimination against women in the church. This past year NAL has worked more closely with PEARL, CFFC, FCM, NARAL and RCAR.

Allow me to suggest that *Commonweal* afford NAL space equal to that given the "official" NC undertaker, so that its readers may be exposed to the authentic aims, structures and strategies of the National Association of Laity.

(DR.) JOSEPH T. SKEHAN
President, NAL

Worcester Ma.

To the Editors: It must be tough to be both a lay person and a reporter when covering a national meeting of lay people (National Association of Laity in Washington in October). Apparently, professional standards dictate observation but not participation; then, with your Jim Castelli, frustration builds and builds and finally comes spilling out in the vicious article printed in your issue of November 1.

It was too bad for us in NAL that what he had to say was said only after the fact. There he was, sitting quiet as a mouse for a day and a half, with all those searing thoughts racketing around in his head. We could have used them then, one thinks.

It was too bad for your readers that the comprehensive and excellent program, the material and thoughts of the fine speakers, the information on people issues the world over, which NAL was able to arrange for, was completely passed over. The fact is that the nature and quality of the program was probably the best NAL has ever put on.

I learned a great deal and, in the process, was able to have personal contact with people who have translated their commitment and concern into positive acts for the betterment of our lives and our world. For the large part, they didn't just say what they had to say and then leave: on Chile, on being a woman priest, on being divorced and a Catholic or being Black and Catholic, on imperialism not population as the cause of hunger, on the awakening of the Third World in international affairs and power politics, on people's rights and alternative, creative, nonviolent solutions, to name a few.

No, I don't think you can fault NAL on what it's got to offer. If a great number of people didn't choose to respond to their mailing, that still doesn't deny the value of what they have to offer. Maybe, in our society, we used to think numbers and a highly organized effort on the model of the big American corporation was the only way to be a success.

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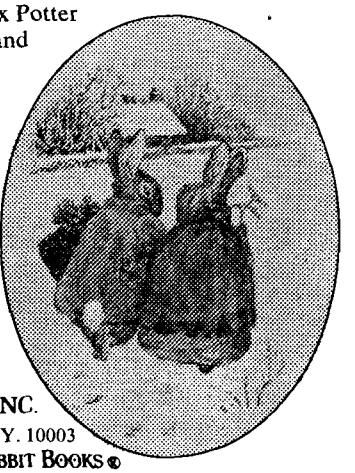

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I think some very fine people in NAL tried to do it that way, and they spent their substance and wore themselves out in the process. One was even hounded out of his job by the hierarchy for exposing certain corrupt fiscal policies with someone else's money.

All good work, important work, but has the iron corset on people's souls ever loosened up once they accepted the lacing in?

Goodbye, I think we've been saying to all that. We wish to give some positive expression to our lives as believing people, we want to try to help our brothers and sisters to do the same, to explore the possibilities open to us. We can believe and act on our beliefs, we can worship, we can relate to God and to one another, we can grow, we can act on our freedom. Like grains of sand, not rockets in the sky.

DANIEL E. DICK
Vice-President, NAL

Reply

Washington, D. C.

To the Editors: I'm fascinated by Joe Skehan's fascination with who pays my salary, his incoherence and his ability to completely misstate facts.

First, from all I can tell, Bishop Dozier was the first bishop to publicly address the NAL, and if he wasn't, Skehan doesn't say who was. The "models" were admittedly my own phrases; I chose the word to describe a possible direction someone, in this case Bishop Dozier, suggests an organization take. And I'm glad to hear what an influence NAL had on the good bishop—I'm sure he'll be glad to hear about it, too.

I may have been in error about the number of active locals but that's what I was told by a number of people at the convention, and there weren't that many. The "studies" Skehan refers to were studies to him and just press releases to most others.

I did not report in 1973 that "about a hundred" people attended the meeting; a look at my coverage shows I said 250 people attended, a figure I was given by the NAL. I was also fascinated to learn I had written something negative about NAL's financial studies for the *National Catholic Reporter* in 1970; I've never written anything negative about the studies, and I didn't even work for *NCR* in 1970.

I also never "admitted" I "wanted" to bury NAL; I would love to see it thriving, but it is not. There is a big difference between making a professional judgment that something is dying and expecting it to die and wanting it to die. I expect to die myself some day, but I'm not looking forward to it.

In fact, I've heard from former NALers that they were sorry to see NAL die, but even sorrier that it wasn't allowed to die with dignity.

As for Dan Dick's comments, frustration did not build and build in me during the convention; I shared some of my thoughts with NAL people I knew and found these people were thinking some of them too.

I also don't think my article was vicious. The NAL, again like the institutional church so many times in the past, shows itself unable to deal with constructive criticism.

For the record, I am well aware and appreciative of all NAL has done; I would like to see it grow, thrive and otherwise influence the church, I know what some of its people have gone through. I know it has something to say, but without an audience the best message in the world is useless.

JIM CASTELLI

Commonweal welcomes letters on subjects treated in its pages. Letters of not more than 250 or 300 words naturally have a better chance of being published.

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Michael Novak (Cont.)

dignity. We can wrestle to the utmost to attain some measure of honesty, courage, liberty and truth, both in our personal and in our social worlds. We labor: Whatever increase is to be given is given by powers not our own.

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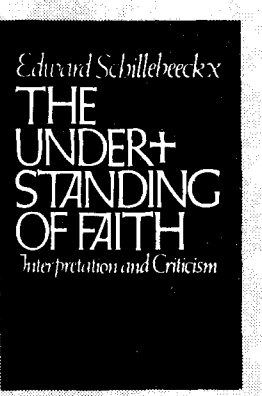

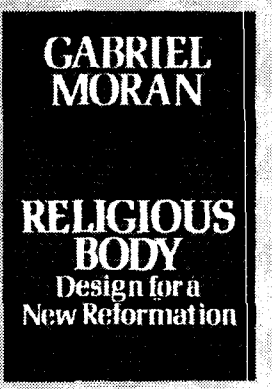

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